DOUBLE ISSUE

OCTOBER 23, 2017

TIME

PRODUCER. PREDATOR. PARIAH.

PLUS

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS

MILLENNIAL MAYORS

GROWING UP TRUMP

TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 16–17 | 2017

4 | From the Editor
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

11 | U.S. Senator **Bob Corker** speaks truth to power

16 | Ian Bremmer: How U.S.-**Turkey** relations got so bad

20 | **Michael Douglas** on the 2017 Nobel Prize winners

23 | States passing **gun control** laws after mass shootings

24 | Art installation in **Tecate** paints picture of U.S.-Mexico border

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

27 | The downfall of **Harvey Weinstein**

34 | **Electric cars** need plugs

36 | James Stavridis to Trump: Keep enemies close and **military** advisers closer

38 | **Susanna Schrobsdorff** on *Fortune*'s Most Powerful Women Summit

Remains of a house in Santa Rosa, Calif., as seen on Oct. 10

Photograph by Jeff Frost for TIME

The Features

A State of Fire
How the Northern California blazes became so destructive
By Katy Steinmetz **40**

Free-ish Speech
Why U.S. college students can't talk to one another
By Katy Steinmetz **48**

The Future of Greek Life
Hazing deaths renew debate over fraternity culture
By Katie Reilly **56**

Independence Days
Scenes from Catalonia's attempt to break from Spain
By Lisa Abend **62**

Hi, I'm a Robot
Meet the team crafting Google's voice-activated helper
By Lisa Eadicicco **68**

Next Generation Leaders
10 young men and women making a difference in the world **74**

Up Next
Millennial mayors offer a fresh glimpse into our political future
By Charlotte Alter **88**

The President's Ex Tells All
Ivana explains how she raised the Trump clan
By Belinda Luscombe **94**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

99 | Director **David Fincher** talks new series *Mindhunter*

103 | The women behind **Wonder Woman**

105 | Actor **Dustin Hoffman** on his father's influences

106 | **Ta-Nehisi Coates**' latest

109 | The new joy of playing old **video games**

111 | Kristin van Ogtrop recalls the **Million Mom March**

112 | 7 Questions for **Ai Weiwei**

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Maurice Haas—13 Photo/Redux*

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published by Time Inc. weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. © 2017 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. Subscriptions: $49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit ***time.com/customerservice.*** You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email ***privacy@time.customersvc.com.*** **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.** ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

AIRFRANCE

SKYTEAM

FRANCE IS IN THE AIR

GET SWEPT AWAY BY PARIS

FROM THE UNITED STATES, UP TO

35 FLIGHTS

PER WEEK

AIRFRANCE KLM

AIRFRANCE.US

On Leaders

THE WORK OF JOURNALISM HAS ALWAYS MEANT COPING with a certain amount of despair, but the past few weeks have been particularly unrelenting. From the shooting in Las Vegas and the hurricanes in Puerto Rico to our cover package this week on the horrific misconduct of Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein, the headlines have been a sobering reminder of what nature can inflict on humanity, and what humanity can inflict on itself.

So it is a pleasure this week to have a hopeful story in the mix: Next Generation Leaders, a biannual project we began four years ago in partnership with Rolex that spotlights rising artists, activists, athletes, scientists and entrepreneurs. "One of the joys of reporting on these pioneers," says Europe editor Dan Stewart, who oversees the list, "is seeing how many of them go on to an even bigger stage." He cites as examples Feng Zhang, 34, a 2016 NGL who helped develop gene-editing technology and last month won the vaunted Lemelson-MIT Prize for inventors, and 31-year-old Sebastian Kurz, a 2017 NGL who is poised to become Chancellor of Austria. You can see all of these leaders, and videos about them, at time.com/nextgenleaders.

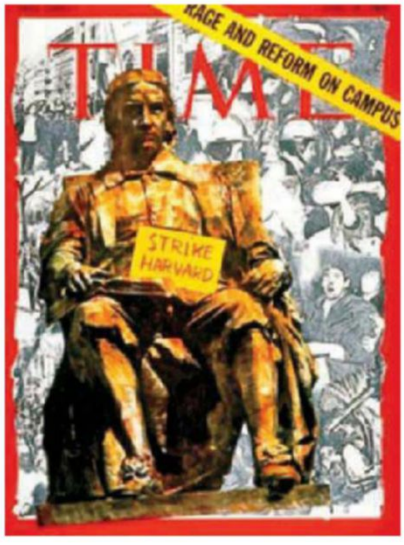
On a similar note, if you find Washington's partisan gridlock disheartening, you might be inspired by 28-year-old Mike Gentry, the Republican mayor of Lebanon, Ind. Anyone on his staff who defends a decision with "That's how it's always been done" has to put money in a bucket. He is one of the young mayors in Charlotte Alter's story on how government might work when, someday soon, millennials rule.

Finally, I want to salute four of TIME's leaders who are paving the way to our own future. On Oct. 5, TIME won an Emmy Award for *A Year in Space,* a documentary we produced with PBS on astronaut Scott Kelly's year aboard the International Space Station. The project was led by director of photography and visual enterprise Kira Pollack, executive producer Jonathan Woods, editor at large Jeffrey Kluger and head of programming Ian Orefice. The second hour of *A Year in Space* airs on PBS on Nov. 15. We hope you'll tune in.

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

Back in TIME

Campus Protest
April 18, 1969



This week's feature on campus unrest *(page 48)* harks back to 1969, when protests "leaped like firebrands from campus to campus," as a TIME cover story put it. The feature scorned student actions—Harvard building takeovers were "deplorable"—but also spelled out a central question that remains unanswered: "To what extent should universities become active participants in changing society?" Read the full story at **time.com/vault**

#VANLIFE Meet the real people behind the viral Instagram hashtag that documents the growing number of Americans living on the road in their vans. Cole Zuver, pictured above in Portland, Ore., with his daughters, says parenting is easier in the great outdoors. "You get them out into nature and almost instantly the fighting stops," he says. See the story and photos at **time.com/vanlife**

BONUS *TIME* HEALTH

Subscribe to TIME's free health newsletter and get a **weekly email full of news and advice to keep you well.** For more, visit **time.com/email**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In the Brief (Oct. 9), a photograph accompanying a story about drug-resistant malaria incorrectly showed the *Aedes* mosquito, rather than the *Anopheles* mosquito. The *Aedes* species does not carry or transmit malaria.

TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@time.com
Please do not send attachments

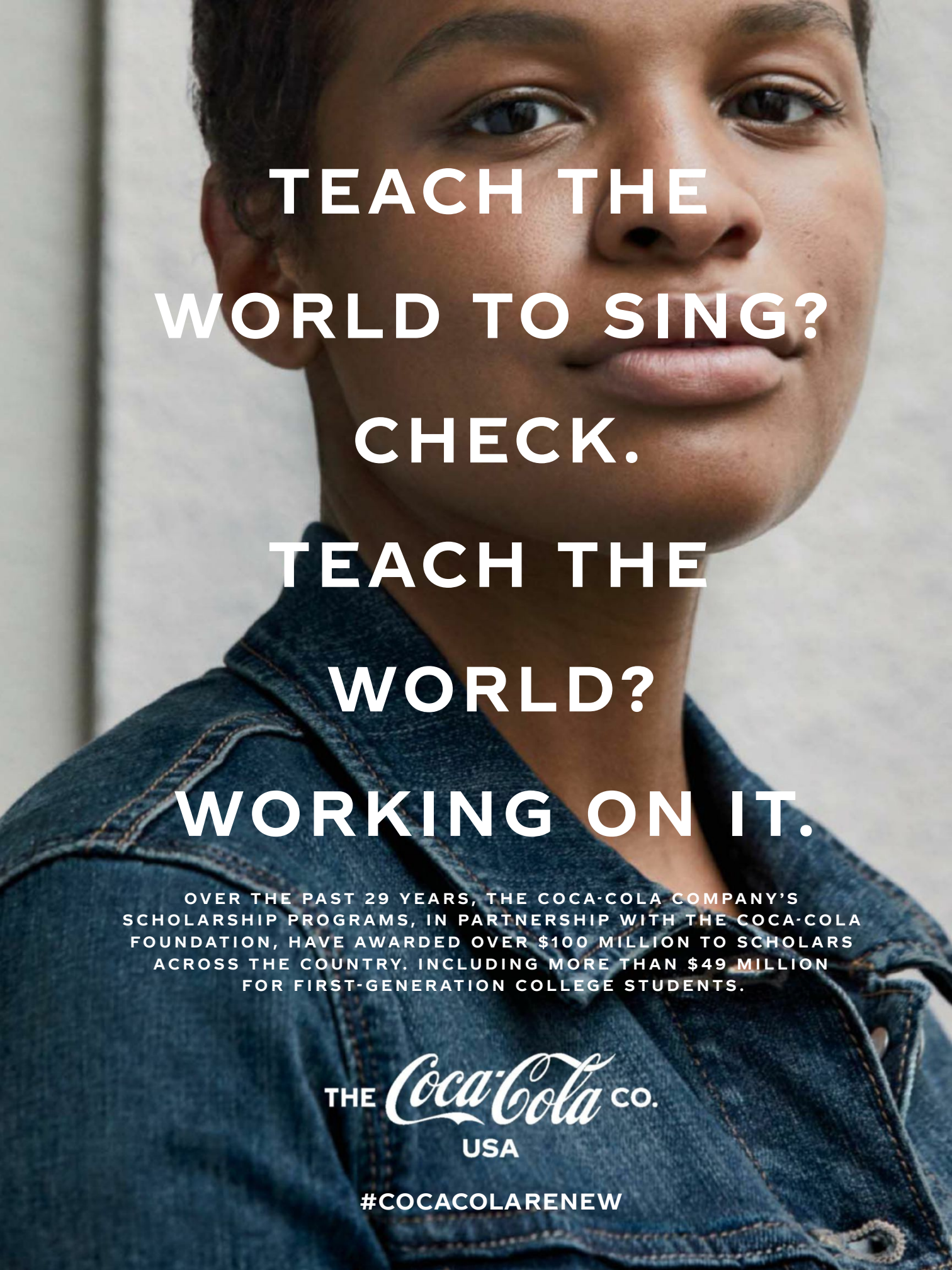
FOLLOW US:
facebook.com/time
@time (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Back Issues Contact us at help.single@customersvc.com or call 1-800-274-6800. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at time.com/reprints. To request custom reprints, visit timereprints.com. **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit timemediakit.com. **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, visit timeinc.com/syndication.

Please recycle this magazine and remove inserts or samples before recycling

#VANLIFE: JOHN FRANCIS PETERS FOR TIME


TEACH THE
WORLD TO SING?
CHECK.
TEACH THE
WORLD?
WORKING ON IT.
OVER THE PAST 29 YEARS, THE COCA-COLA COMPANY'S SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS, IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE COCA-COLA FOUNDATION, HAVE AWARDED OVER $100 MILLION TO SCHOLARS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. INCLUDING MORE THAN $49 MILLION FOR FIRST-GENERATION COLLEGE STUDENTS.
THE Coca-Cola CO.
USA
#COCACOLARENEW

‘HOW DO I GET OUT OF THE ROOM AS FAST AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT ALIENATING HARVEY WEINSTEIN?’

ASHLEY JUDD, actor, describing how trapped she felt when she was in producer Harvey Weinstein’s Beverly Hills suite while filming *Kiss the Girls* (1997) and he suggested she watch him shower; the Weinstein Company fired him on Oct. 8 after a New York *Times* investigation revealed a long history of sexual-harassment allegations and settlements

46

Age, in years, of a can of Heinz kidney soup (a discontinued flavor) donated to a Welsh food bank

‘Change happens when advertisers are impacted.’

JEMELE HILL, ESPN *SportsCenter* anchor, suspended for two weeks for tweeting that Dallas Cowboys fans can “boycott” sponsors after owner Jerry Jones threatened to bench players who “disrespect” the flag by not standing for the national anthem

‘I thought it was a hoax in this time of fake news.’

KAZUO ISHIGURO, *The Remains of the Day* author, describing his reaction to hearing he had won the 2017 Nobel Prize in Literature

Sharks
New study suggests great white sharks swim farther and deeper than previously thought

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Dolphins
Miami Dolphins coach resigns after video of him snorting a white powder surfaces

‘The election scheduled … will be worse than the previous one.’

RAILA ODINGA, former Kenyan Prime Minister, withdrawing from the Oct. 26 presidential election against incumbent Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta, which had been rescheduled after the Supreme Court nullified the Aug. 8 results over fraud concerns

7.31

Tongue length, in inches, of Mochi, holder of the Guinness World Record for **longest dog tongue;** Mochi, 8, is a St. Bernard from Sioux Falls, S.D.

334,252

Population of Iceland in 2016, according to the World Bank, making it **the smallest country ever to qualify for the World Cup,** after beating Kosovo 2-0 on Oct. 9

‘The war on coal is over.’

SCOTT PRUITT, administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, announcing an end to the Obama-era policy that limits greenhouse-gas emissions from coal-fired power plants

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; BBC; JAPAN TIMES; MARINE ECOLOGY PROGRESS SERIES

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

DISCOVER THE NATURAL WONDERS

PUGET SOUND & SAN JUAN ISLANDS

NEW ENGLAND | SOUTHEAST | PACIFIC NORTHWEST | ALASKA | MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Enjoy the scenic beauty of the Pacific Northwest on this 8-day cruise, aboard one of the newest and most environmentally friendly ships in the United States. Witness whales, harbor seals, and bald eagles as you cruise through this diverse natural wonderland.

Experience Small Ship Cruising Done Perfectly.®

CAPTIVATING EXCURSIONS

LARGEST STATEROOMS

4,8 & 11-DAY ITINERARIES

World Travel Awards Winner 2016 | 2016 Travel Weekly Magellan Awards Gold Award

Call today for a **FREE** Cruise Guide

1-800-913-2493

AmericanCruiseLines.com

2016 Traveler Readers' Choice Awards | 2016 Editors' Picks Cruise Critic

DESIGNED FOR YOUR SAFETY.

Toyota Safety Sense™[1] is now standard on many new Toyotas.

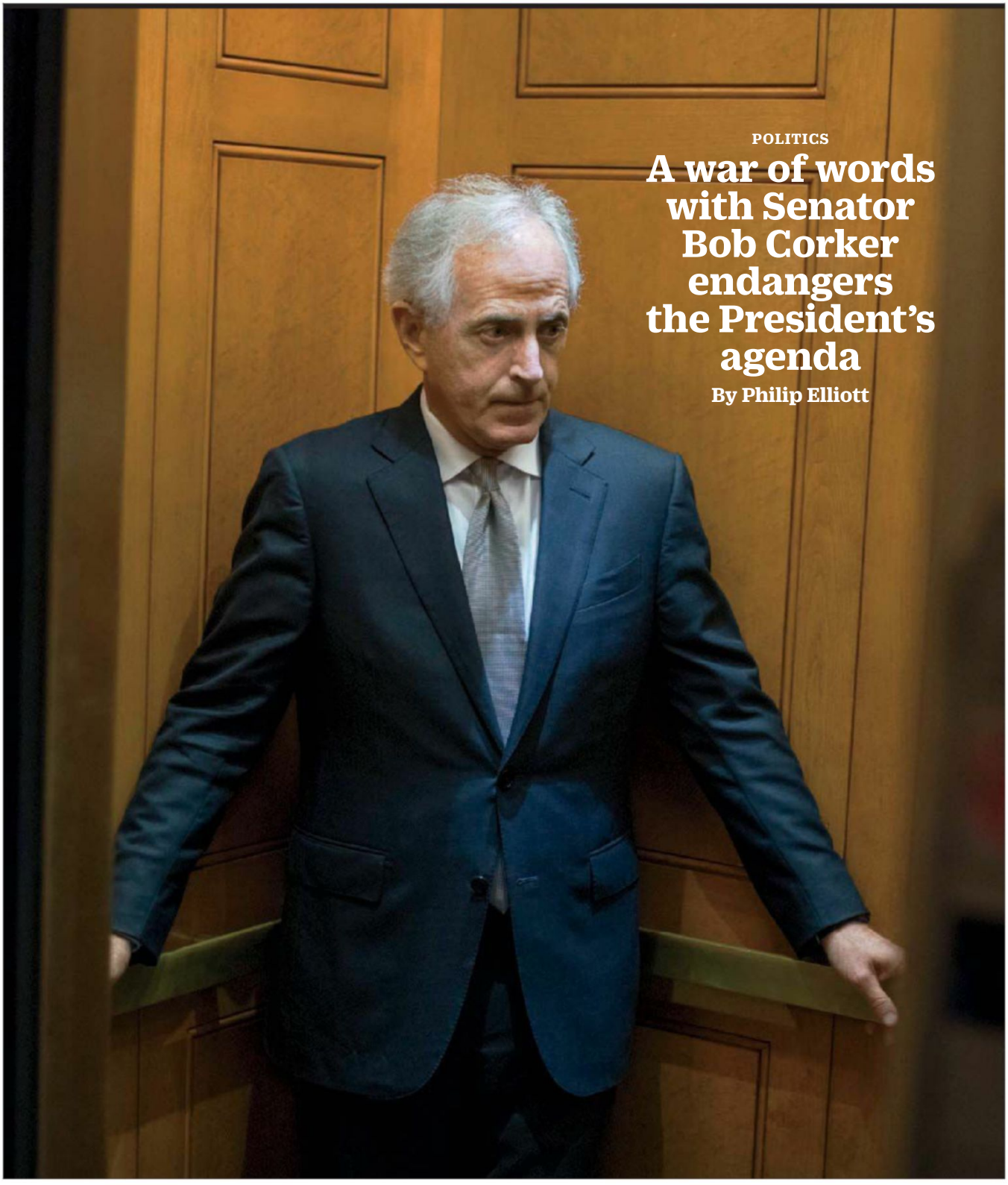
The road can be unpredictable. That's why many new Toyotas, including the first-ever Toyota C-HR, come with a suite of active safety features at no extra charge, including Pre-Collision System (PCS)[2], Lane Departure Alert (LDA)[3] and other innovations. Toyota Safety Sense™ (TSS). Designed for safety.

TOYOTA | Let's Go Places

Prototype shown with options. Production model will vary. 1. Drivers are responsible for their own safe driving. Always pay attention to your surroundings and drive safely. System effectiveness is dependent on many factors including road, weather and vehicle conditions. See *Owner's Manual* for additional limitations and details. 2. The TSS Pre-Collision System is designed to help avoid or reduce the crash speed and damage in certain frontal collisions only. It is not a substitute for safe and attentive driving. System effectiveness is dependent on many factors including road, weather and vehicle conditions. See *Owner's Manual* for additional limitations and details. 3. Lane Departure Alert is designed to read visible lane markers under certain conditions, and provide visual and audible alerts when lane departure is detected. It is not a collision-avoidance system or a substitute for safe and attentive driving. Effectiveness is dependent on many factors including road, weather and vehicle conditions. See *Owner's Manual* for additional limitations and details. ©2017 Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc.

The Brief

'STATES, NOT CONGRESS, ARE MORE LIKELY TO TAKE UP GUN LAWS FOLLOWING TRAGEDIES.' —PAGE 23



POLITICS

A war of words with Senator Bob Corker endangers the President's agenda

By Philip Elliott

CQ ROLL CALL/SIPA USA

PHOTOGRAPH BY TOM WILLIAMS

BOB CORKER IS KNOWN AROUND WASHINGton as a pragmatist, not a hothead. So when the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee lashed back at President Donald Trump on Oct. 8, the town took notice. "It's a shame the White House has become an adult day care center. Someone obviously missed their shift this morning," Corker tweeted after Trump unleashed a series of attacks on the Tennessee Republican. Corker wasn't done. In a follow-up interview he said that Trump was setting the U.S. "on the path to World War III" and treating his office like "a reality show." And he suggested many of his Senate colleagues share this view. "He concerns me," Corker told the New York *Times*. "He would have to concern anyone who cares about our nation."

Corker's remarks landed amid NBC News reports that Trump's own Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, had called the President a "moron" in July after a two-and-a-half-hour visit to the Pentagon, where Trump allegedly asked for an almost tenfold increase in the nation's nuclear arsenal. In response to NBC's reporting, Trump threatened to boot the network from public airwaves. Taken together, the episodes left the President's partners with new doubts about the boss's capacity.

'IT'S A SHAME THE WHITE HOUSE HAS BECOME AN ADULT DAY CARE CENTER.'

BOB CORKER

The clash with Corker also has the potential to paralyze the President's agenda—and not only the parts that run through Corker's committee. With just 52 Republican Senators, the White House has little room for defections. Corker has signaled concerns about the tax plan that is increasingly the cornerstone of Trump's domestic program. The war of words with Corker—a onetime ally who announced that he will retire at the end of 2018—was a reminder that much of the GOP would turn on the President if given a consequence-free chance.

A former Chattanooga mayor and real estate developer, Corker once embraced the role of Washington sherpa to the New York mogul. When Corker came forward in April 2016 to praise Trump's first major foreign-policy speech, he helped legitimize Trump at a moment when much of the GOP was unwilling to vouch for him. Corker began to advise Trump's improv troupe of a campaign and argued the candidate would mature in the Oval Office. Trump considered the Tennessean for the role of running mate and later as a possible Secretary of State.

If Corker thought Trump's instinct to fight would fade, he has been disappointed. Meanwhile, Corker has fostered a friendship with Tillerson, whose own relationship with the White House has grown strained. On Oct. 4, Corker praised Tillerson—along with Secretary of Defense James Mattis and White House chief of staff John Kelly—as the "people that help separate our country from chaos."

Trump didn't appreciate that. He took to Twitter to allege that Corker had "begged" for Trump's endorsement when pondering another Senate term (a claim Corker denied) and "didn't have the guts to run!" Then Trump told *Forbes* that Tillerson, the former CEO of Exxon, isn't as smart as he thinks he is. "I guess we'll have to compare IQ tests," the President said. "And I can tell you who is going to win." Trump later referred to Corker as "Liddle Bob."

While other lawmakers share Corker's concerns, few want to see the spat continue. Some Republicans were frustrated that Corker spoke out against a President who remains positioned to sign conservative legislation. "It's easy to be bold," said Representative Mark Meadows, a North Carolina Republican and leader of the far-right Freedom Caucus, "when you're not coming back."

And that's the real tension here. House Republicans are jumpy about next year's elections, in which Democrats need to gain just 24 seats to reclaim a majority. Presidents' parties have lost ground in 18 of the last 21 midterm cycles—33 seats on average. Holding the Senate has seemed like a safer bet, but that may be changing. Stephen Bannon, Trump's former chief strategist, is working to draft primary challenges against incumbent Republicans in states like Utah, Mississippi and Arizona. Bannon's barometer of success is disruption; he is demanding his recruits pledge to depose Senate GOP leader Mitch McConnell.

Which leaves Republicans reluctant to help the White House. "An attack on one is an attack on all in the Senate, and Republican members are absolutely livid," says Doug Heye, a Republican strategist and Capitol Hill veteran. In other words, it's tough for anyone—including a President—to cajole lawmakers into helping if they're nursing wounds. ◻

TICKER

Google saw Russia ad spending too

Russian operatives reportedly spent tens of thousands of dollars on ads across Google products, including YouTube and Gmail, in an attempt to meddle in the 2016 U.S. election. The company said it was investigating attempts to abuse its systems.

Kim Jong Un promotes his sister

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un promoted his sister Kim Yo Jong, the youngest daughter of late leader Kim Jong Il, to make her a member of the Workers' Party's politburo, the country's top decisionmaking body, amid a wider reshuffle.

Another rally in Charlottesville

White nationalists once again congregated in Charlottesville, Va., for a torch rally on Oct. 7, less than two months after the college town descended into chaos when clashes broke out between self-styled "alt-right" groups and antifascist protesters.

Fearless Girl firm underpaid women

The firm behind the *Fearless Girl* statue on New York City's Wall Street agreed to pay $5 million after the U.S. Department of Labor said it underpaid 305 women and discriminated against black employees.

WHY BE AVERAGE? STAND OUT.

GO BEYOND AVERAGE WITH OUR CONSISTENTLY GREAT RATES.

Choose Synchrony Bank and enjoy award-winning rates—above the national average*—along with the safety of FDIC insurance and the rewards of our Perks program. Whatever you're working forward to, why settle for average? With Synchrony Bank, you can count on more.

What are you working forward to?

24-Month CD	High Yield Savings Account
1.75% APY*	1.30% APY*
$2,000 minimum opening deposit	no minimum balance

Visit us at **synchronybank.com** or call 1-800-753-6592.

***Annual Percentage Yields (APYs)** are accurate as of 9/21/17 and subject to change at any time without notice. Fees may reduce earnings. Visit synchronybank.com for current rates, terms and account requirements. Offers apply to personal accounts only:

CDs: A minimum of $2,000 is required to open a CD and must be deposited in a single transaction. A penalty may be imposed for early withdrawals. After maturity, if you choose to roll over your CD, you will earn the base rate of interest in effect at that time.

HIGH YIELD SAVINGS: Rates are variable and subject to change any time without notice after the account is opened. No minimum opening deposit required.

NATIONAL AVERAGE: National Average APYs are based on specific product types of top 50 U.S. banks (ranked by total deposits) provided by Informa Research Services, Inc. as of 9/1/17. CD Rates: Average APYs are based on certificate of deposit accounts of $25,000. High Yield Savings Rates: Average APYs are based on High Yield Savings Accounts of $10,000. Although the information provided by Informa Research Services, Inc. has been obtained from the various institutions, accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

FDIC INSURANCE: FDIC Insurance up to $250,000 per depositor, per insured bank, for each ownership category.

Member FDIC

© 2017 Synchrony Bank

WOLVES LOATHING Hundreds of sheep are driven through the French city of Lyon on Oct. 9 as part of a protest against the government's protection of wolves. Farmers say the predators' attacks on their livestock are causing financial losses. Wolves were hunted to extinction in France in the 1930s but returned in the 1990s after crossing the Alps from Italy. Now around 350 roam in packs across the country. *Photograph by Laurent Cipriani—AP/REX/Shutterstock*

LIFESTYLE

Japan's deadly culture of overwork

JAPAN IS BEING FORCED TO CONFRONT ITS working culture after national broadcaster NHK revealed on Oct. 4 that reporter Miwa Sado, 31, died of heart failure in 2013 after clocking nearly 160 hours of overtime in a month. Workers in Japan routinely take short vacations and work long hours—a lifestyle that is taking its toll:

WORK-LIFE IMBALANCE *Karoshi,* meaning "death by overwork," first came to light in the 1980s with reports of blue collar workers dropping dead. By 2015 more than 2,000 suicides and 96 deaths by brain and heart illnesses were linked to it. Campaigners put annual fatalities at 10,000.

INEFFECTIVE LEGISLATION Japanese lawmakers passed a law in 2014 to prevent *karoshi,* which compelled employers to find ways to reduce hours but failed to introduce penalties for non-compliance. Today nearly 1 in 4 companies in Japan say some employees put in as much as 80 hours of overtime a month.

‹ Sado took only two days off in the month before her death

OFF THE BOOKS The culture of overwork is not only a problem for Japan. Almost 40% in Turkey say they work over 50 hours a week, compared to only 21% in Japan where, at least on paper, the average Japanese worker spends fewer hours in the office per year than the average American. But statistics fail to capture "service overtime," unpaid extra hours that employees feel obligated to work every month. Until employers move to rectify that, more Japanese will work themselves into early graves. —TARA JOHN

DATA

COLLEGE DIVERSITY

The share of Hispanic high school graduates starting college has risen to a record high, according to data from the Census Bureau. These percentages show high school grads ages 18 to 24 who enrolled in college in 1996 and in 2016, by race:

Hispanic
35% 1996
47% 2016

Black
36% 1996
43% 2016

White
45% 1996
47% 2016

Asian
61% 1996
62% 2016

SADO: ANN NEWS/YOUTUBE

Choosing a Medicare plan doesn't have to be complicated.

UnitedHealthcare® can help guide you through the confusion with helpful people, tools and plans — including the only Medicare plans with the AARP name. Find the Medicare plan for you at **UHCmedicare.com**

Plans are insured through UnitedHealthcare Insurance Company or one of its affiliated companies, a Medicare Advantage organization with a Medicare contract. Enrollment in the plan depends on the plan's contract renewal with Medicare. UnitedHealthcare Insurance Company pays royalty fees to AARP for the use of its intellectual property. These fees are used for the general purposes of AARP. AARP and its affiliates are not insurers. AARP encourages you to consider your needs when selecting products and does not make specific product recommendations for individuals. Y0066_170911_150049 Accepted

AARP | Medicare Plans from UnitedHealthcare

TICKER

Hurricane Nate drenches the South

Hurricane Nate made landfall in Louisiana and Mississippi, bringing with it floods and power outages across the Gulf Coast. The storm was the fourth to hit the continental U.S. this year and killed at least 22 people in Central America.

Merkel agrees to refugee limits

German Chancellor Angela Merkel agreed to limit the number of asylum seekers allowed to enter the country on humanitarian grounds to 200,000 per year. Merkel's agreement came as she prepared to discuss forming a new coalition with the Greens and Free Democrats.

India: Child-bride sex counts as rape

India's Supreme Court ruled Oct. 11 that if a man has sex with a wife under the age of 18, it counts as rape. The ruling struck down a controversial legal clause that said intercourse between a man and his wife was permissible if she was age 15 or older.

Shark man handed 'burqa ban' fine

A man wearing a shark costume to advertise the McShark computer chain was fined nearly $180 by Austrian police for disobeying the country's new "burqa ban" law forbidding most full-face coverings.

THE RISK REPORT

Turkey-U.S. relations are going from bad to much, much worse

By Ian Bremmer

FOR DECADES, TURKEY HAS BEEN AN important U.S. ally. It's a secular Muslim-majority democracy; a NATO member at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East and Russia; and a key staging point for U.S. activity in Iraq. In recent days, however, bad blood has been rising on both sides.

On Oct. 4, Turkish police arrested a Turkish employee of the U.S. consulate in Istanbul on espionage charges and accused him of having links to Fethullah Gulen—a Turkish cleric whom President Recep Tayyip Erdogan blames for last year's attempted coup and wants extradited from his adopted home in the U.S. The U.S. denied the charges and retaliated on Oct. 8 by halting all nonimmigrant visa services for Turks hoping to visit the U.S. Hours later, Turkey barred U.S. citizens from obtaining visas to enter Turkey. This comes after Turkey's decision in September to purchase a missile-defense system from Russia, an extraordinarily provocative move for a NATO country.

Relations are not likely to improve anytime soon. The first problem is that Erdogan can't get the Trump Administration to see things his way. The White House won't give up Gulen, it won't give unconditional support for Erdogan's bid to consolidate presidential power, and it won't end support for Kurdish fighters in Syria whom Turkey considers to be linked to terrorism. Erdogan had grown used to the cold shoulder from former U.S. President Barack Obama, but he hoped things would be different with Trump. Like Russia's Vladimir Putin, Erdogan is angry that those hopes have been dashed.

The second problem is that, like Putin, Erdogan will probably see his name appear in the U.S. press as part of special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation of the Trump presidential campaign. Former National Security Adviser Michael Flynn allegedly halted a military plan opposed by Turkey after being paid hundreds of thousands of dollars by Turkish lobbyists. If investigators uncover more details about those allegations, Turkey's thin-skinned President won't like the media coverage he gets in the U.S. He's likely to push for an early election in 2018, and we can expect a resurgence of anti-American rhetoric on the campaign trail.

> Erdogan hoped things would be different with Trump. Like Putin, he's angry those hopes have been dashed

This diplomatic freeze isn't yet a cold war. Absent a crisis, Turkey won't leave NATO and NATO won't expel Turkey. Erdogan may not admit it, but he knows NATO is a much more reliable long-term ally than Russia, particularly if the Kremlin knows Turkey has no other options. And Turkey is too strategically important for Europe and the U.S. to ignore. But at least until Turkey and the U.S. have new Presidents, the two countries will not be true allies. ◻

ADVERTISING

Off-color ads by beauty brands

Dove has apologized for an online ad showing a black woman turning white after using its soap. It's not the first time a beauty brand has been accused of racially insensitive advertising. *—Kate Samuelson*

NIVEA
In April, the German skin-care brand launched an ad for invisible deodorant that featured the phrase "White is purity." The ad was widely shared on social media by white supremacists.

SEOUL SECRET
In 2016, the Thai cosmetics company apologized for an ad for whitening pills that linked being white with success. In it, Cris Horwang declared that by "just being white, you will win."

VASELINE
The skin-care group came under fire in 2010 for creating an application that allowed Facebook users in India to digitally whiten their skin, a promotion for its range of lightening creams for men.

DOVE

CAST TOGETHER*

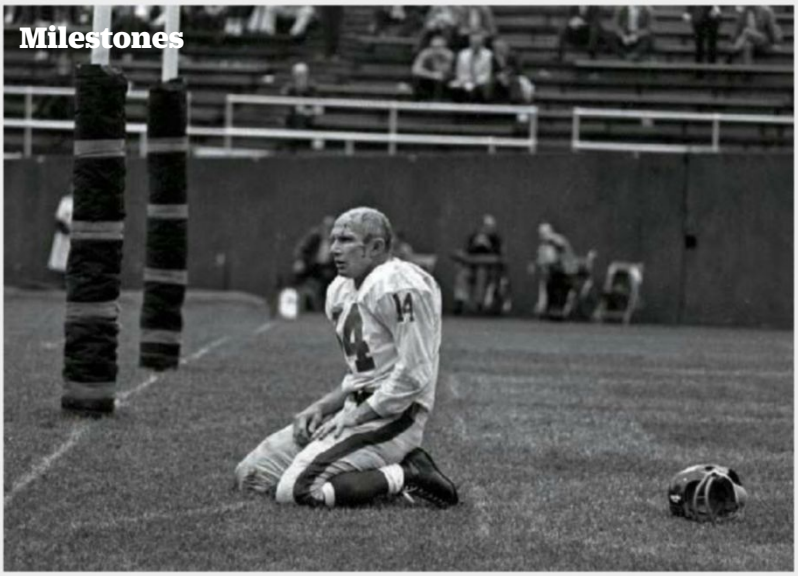
* Friends forever

People TV

Original Series. Entertainment Weekly Cast Reunions.
Always Streaming.

Download on the App Store · amazon fireTV · tv · Google Play · Roku · chromecast · xumo · PLUTO

Milestones



DIED

Y.A. Tittle *Hall of Fame quarterback*

The photo is iconic: New York Giants quarterback Y.A. Tittle, bald, bloodied, on his knees, staring blankly at the end of his career. Tittle retired soon after this shot was taken in 1964, but his legacy would include longevity. San Francisco had traded the scrappy Texan, considered too old at 34, to New York; he led the Giants to three straight NFL title games and set a league single-season record for TD passes that stood for 21 years. —*Sean Gregory*

DIED

Basketball star **Connie Hawkins,** at 75. The forward toured the world with the Harlem Globetrotters before playing with the NBA, including the Phoenix Suns and L.A. Lakers. A four-time All-Star, he was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1992.

› Veteran French actor **Jean Rochefort,** who appeared in nearly 150 movies including Patrice Leconte's *Ridicule* and Guillaume Canet's *Tell No One,* at 87.

› French fashion designer **Hervé Leroux,** who made his name by creating the figure-hugging bandage-style dresses popular in the 1990s, at 60.

FAILED

Team USA, to qualify for next year's soccer World Cup finals for the first time since 1986, following a 2-1 loss to Trinidad and Tobago on Oct. 10.

REPEALED

The **nation's most extensive soda tax,** covering 5.2 million people, in Chicago. Cook County's board of commissioners voted to repeal the tax from Dec. 1 after a major campaign by the bottled-drinks industry, which spent millions on ad campaigns and lobbyists.

WON

The **Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences, by Richard Thaler** *(right)* of the University of Chicago, for his contributions to behavioral economics. The co-author of *Nudge* "built a bridge between the economic and psychological analyses of individual decision-making," the Nobel Prize committee said.

NAMED

Twenty-four new recipients of "genius" grants, by the Chicago-based MacArthur Foundation. The MacArthur fellows, who each receive $625,000 over five years to spend in any way they choose, include computer scientist Regina Barzilay and Pulitzer Prize–winning author Viet Thanh Nguyen.

ANNOUNCED

Plans to admit **girls into the Cub Scouts program** from 2018, by the Boy Scouts of America's board of directors. A new program following the Boy Scouts curriculum will also be established for older girls.

WON

The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons *The Nobel Peace Prize*

By Michael Douglas

I grew up with nuclear civil-defense drills. I was told to duck under my wooden desk if I saw a bright light. When I would visit my father in Hollywood, he had a bomb shelter at his house. It was part of our consciousness early on.

Today nine nations together have 15,000 nuclear weapons. Each is led by a fallible human who is capable of making a mistake that could end the world as we know it. The U.S. President, all by himself, is able to launch nuclear weapons within four minutes of his command; no one can overrule him. I've felt for a long time that we aren't talking about these risks enough. But with Kim Jong Un in North Korea and Donald Trump in the White House, we are now.

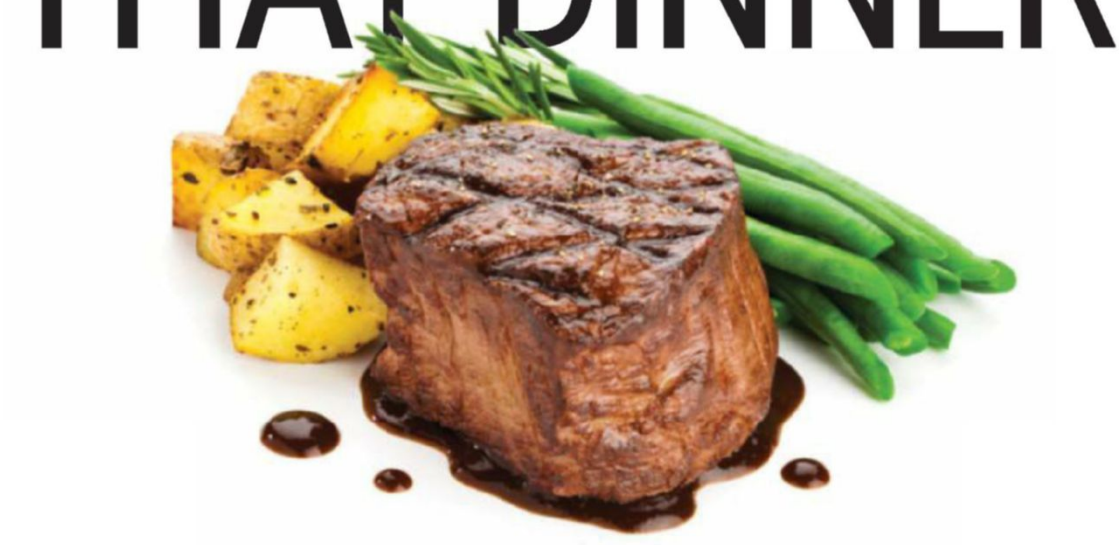
That's why it's so important that the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, or ICAN, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on Oct. 6. It had a dream of a treaty that could ban nuclear weapons, just as we have banned chemical and biological weapons. After years of work, it helped convince over 120 countries to gather at the U.N. and approve a nuclear-ban treaty this summer. It is just a first step. None of the nuclear-armed countries signed the treaty, and it is not clear how the ban would work. The vision, however, is correct. Only by eliminating all nuclear weapons will we eliminate the global nuclear threat.

The risk of these weapons' being used is greater than it has been for a long time. Even allies of Trump seem to agree, with a Republican Senator warning that the President's policies could set the nation "on the path to World War III." In these times, we are lucky to have a new generation to take up this fight, and ICAN is leading the way.

Douglas is an actor, producer and U.N. Messenger of Peace focused on abolishing nuclear weapons

TITTLE: DOZIER MOBLEY—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; THALER: JIM SPELLMAN—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

THAT DINNER



WON'T PAY FOR ITSELF.

Switch to GEICO and save money for the things you love.

Maybe it's that high-end client dinner. Or the last-minute flight overseas. Doing business is what you love – and it doesn't come cheap. So switch to GEICO, because you could save 15% or more on car insurance. And that would help make the things you love that much easier to get.

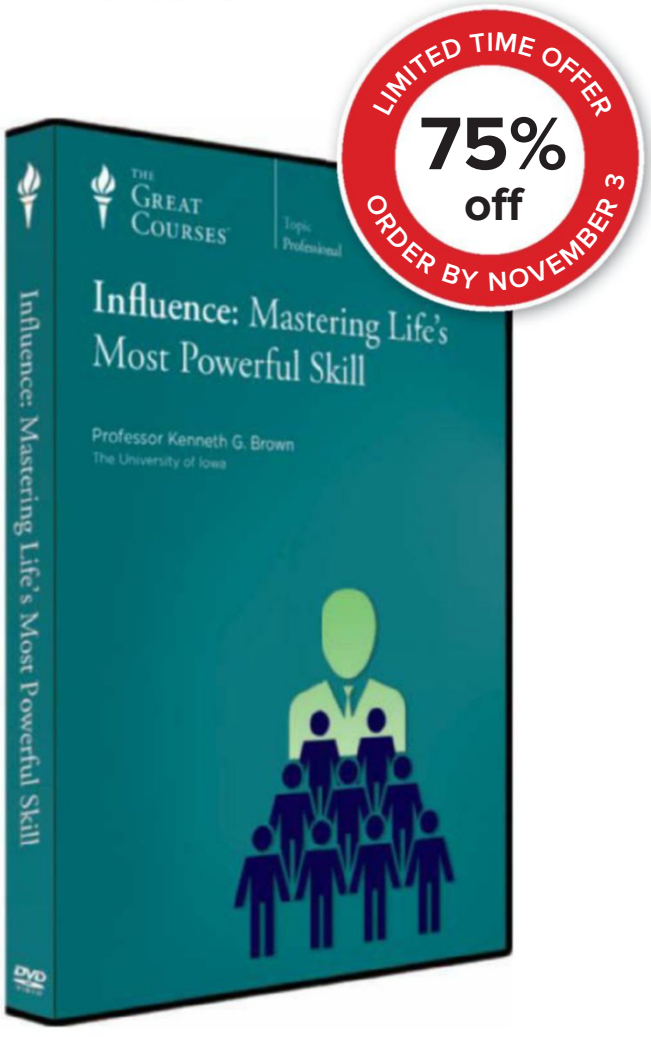
GEICO®

Auto • Home • Rent • Cycle • Boat

geico.com | 1-800-947-AUTO (2886) | local office

Some discounts, coverages, payment plans and features are not available in all states or all GEICO companies. Homeowners and renters coverages are written through non-affiliated insurance companies and are secured through the GEICO Insurance Agency, Inc. Boat and PWC coverages are underwritten by GEICO Marine Insurance Company. Motorcycle and ATV coverages are underwritten by GEICO Indemnity Company. GEICO is a registered service mark of Government Employees Insurance Company, Washington, D.C. 20076; a Berkshire Hathaway Inc. subsidiary. © 2017 GEICO

THE GREAT COURSES®



Transform Your Personal and Professional Life with This Skill

Whether you realize it or not, you're constantly surrounded by people and groups trying to influence the way you think, act, and feel. But you don't have to let influence just happen to you. You can actively take charge of your decisions—and your life—by grasping the science behind how influence works and by strengthening your own skills at influence and persuasion. In **Influence: Mastering Life's Most Powerful Skill**, discover everything you need to tap into the hidden powers of influence and persuasion—and use them to enhance your personal and professional life in ways you never thought possible.

Offer expires 11/03/17

THEGREATCOURSES.COM/7TME

1-800-832-2412

Influence: Mastering Life's Most Powerful Skill

Taught by Professor Kenneth G. Brown
THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

LECTURE TITLES

1. A Model for Successful Influence
2. Characteristics of Influential Agents
3. The Dark Side of Influence
4. Characteristics of Suggestible Targets
5. Influence Tactics—Hard and Soft
6. How to Make the Most of Soft Tactics
7. How Context Shapes Influence
8. Practicing Impression Management
9. Selling and Being Sold
10. Delivering Effective Speeches
11. Developing Negotiation Skills
12. Becoming a Transformational Leader

Influence: Mastering Life's Most Powerful Skill
Course no. 5972 | 12 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

SAVE UP TO $170

DVD	~~$199.95~~	NOW $29.95
Video Download	~~$169.95~~	NOW $19.95
CD	~~$134.95~~	NOW $19.95
Audio Download	~~$89.95~~	NOW $14.95

+$10 Shipping & Processing (DVD & CD only)
and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

Priority Code: 152019

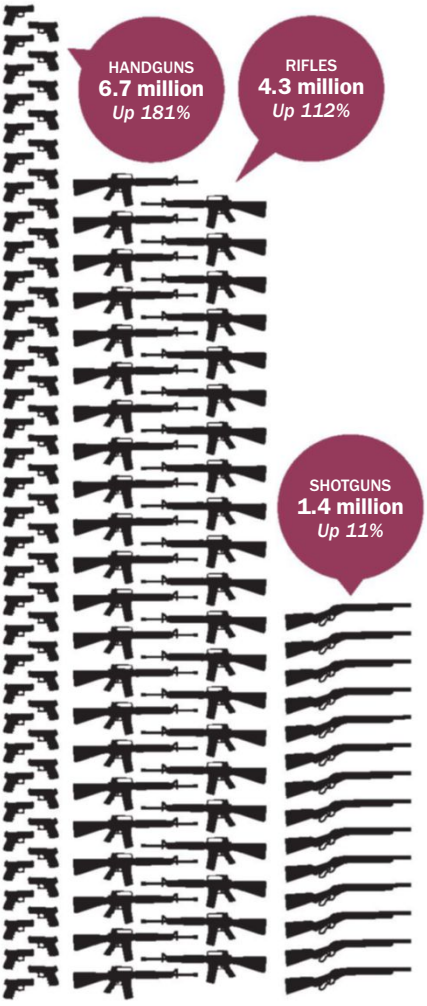
For over 25 years, The Great Courses has brought the world's foremost educators to millions who want to go deeper into the subjects that matter most. No exams. No homework. Just a world of knowledge available anytime, anywhere. Download or stream to your laptop or PC, or use our free apps for iPad, iPhone, Android, Kindle Fire, or Roku. Over 600 courses available at www.TheGreatCourses.com.

NATION

What happens to gun laws after a mass shooting

FOLLOWING THE MASSACRE IN LAS Vegas, some members of Congress are calling for a ban on devices that allow rifles to fire like machine guns, like the one used by the shooter. Yet states, not Congress, are more likely to take up gun laws following tragedies. Here is a look at each state's position on key gun laws, with notable policy changes in states that recently experienced a mass shooting. —EMILY BARONE

A YEAR IN ARMS
The guns produced in and imported to the U.S. in 2015, minus exports, with the change from 2006



HOW STATES REGULATE
Where each state stands on eight policies central to the debate over access to firearms

Connecticut The 2012 Sandy Hook school shooting led to a ban on **high-capacity magazines,** among other measures.

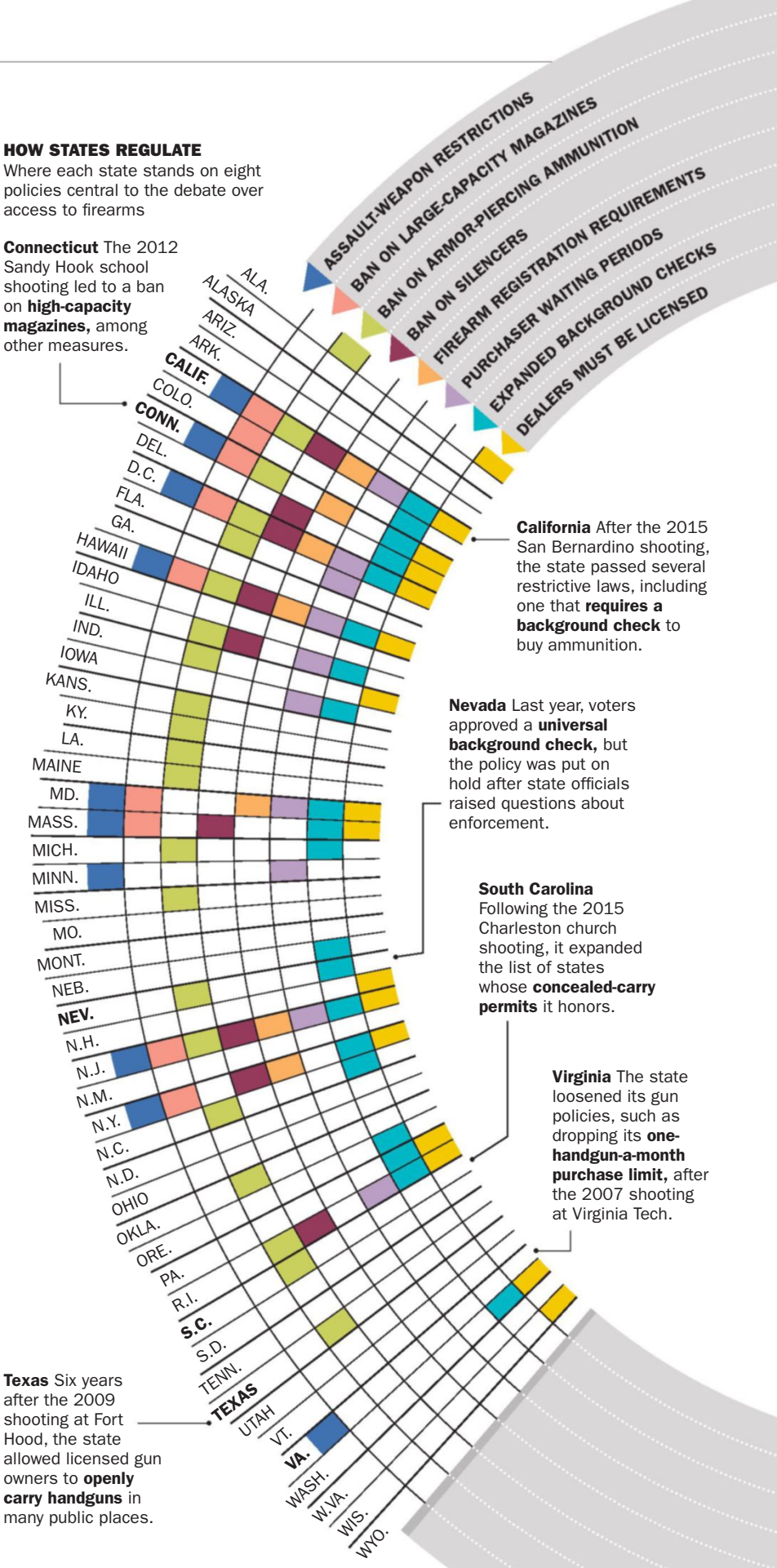
California After the 2015 San Bernardino shooting, the state passed several restrictive laws, including one that **requires a background check** to buy ammunition.

Nevada Last year, voters approved a **universal background check,** but the policy was put on hold after state officials raised questions about enforcement.

South Carolina Following the 2015 Charleston church shooting, it expanded the list of states whose **concealed-carry permits** it honors.

Virginia The state loosened its gun policies, such as dropping its **one-handgun-a-month purchase limit,** after the 2007 shooting at Virginia Tech.

Texas Six years after the 2009 shooting at Fort Hood, the state allowed licensed gun owners to **openly carry handguns** in many public places.



SOURCES: ATF; LAW CENTER TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE; NRA-ILA

ART

A picnic at the border

THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF THE U.S. is the site of fraught crossings and tense searches, border-patrol guards and a long promised, not fully realized wall. But lately it's also been the home of artwork that uses the border as a way to tell a new story about a shared humanity.

In September, the French artist JR installed a monumental photograph of a curious toddler overlooking the border fence between Mexico and the U.S. Recently, on the last day of that installation, JR launched another site-specific project: an international picnic, with hundreds of people sharing a meal across the fence. JR took a photo of the eyes of a "Dreamer," one of the young undocumented immigrants who falls under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. Then he turned the photo into a surface that visitors could eat off: one eye was on a table in Tecate, on the Mexican side of the border, while the other eye was on a tarp in Tecate, Calif. At first, JR thought nobody would show up to his picnic. He wasn't able to publicize it online, since an advance announcement would have likely resulted in a shutdown by the U.S. Border Patrol, so he had to rely on word of mouth. At 12:30 p.m., nobody was there. "I thought, Oh, maybe it's just going to be a few of us," he says. By 1 p.m. there were dozens, and by 2 p.m. hundreds of people had shown up to share the meal.

"The table goes through the wall, and the people eat the same food and drink the same water and listen to the same music," JR says. "For a minute we were forgetting about it, passing salt and water and drinks as if there were no wall." —CHARLOTTE ALTER

A picnic takes place on JR's Giant Picnic, *a photograph of the eyes of a Dreamer at the U.S.-Mexico border in Tecate, Mexico, on Oct. 8*

PHOTOGRAPH BY JR-ART.NET

For more of our best photography, visit **time.com/lightbox**

IT TAKES GUTS. AND HEART. AND HANDS. AND SUPPLIES. AND YOUR HELP.

After a disaster stops "trending" and the media leaves the scene, Concern stays behind to finish what we started. When a natural disaster, health epidemic or human conflict strikes, our response is not only to save lives, but to help the most vulnerable communities stand on their own again. Our work isn't just about showing up, it's about following through.

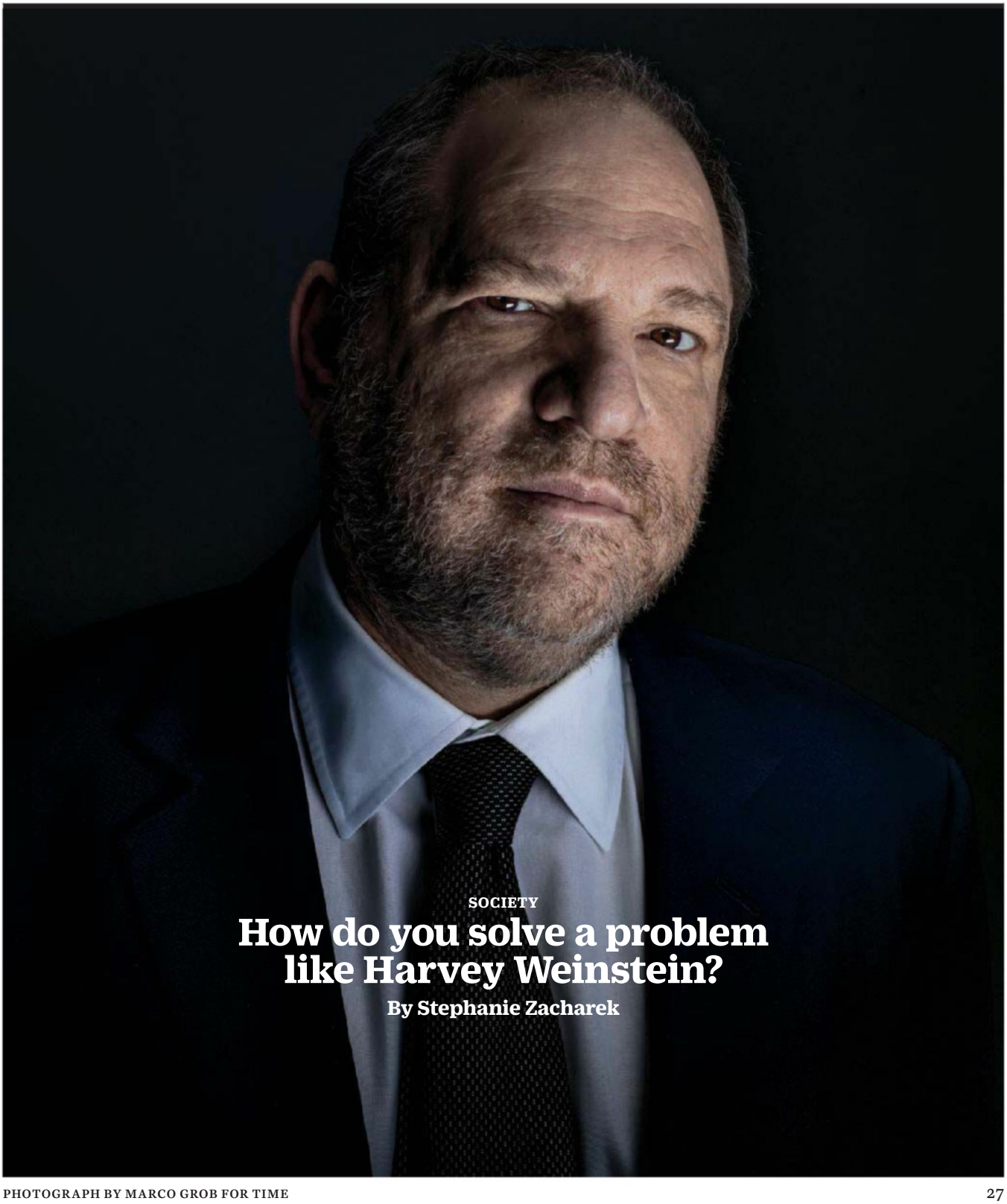
CONCERN worldwide

Show your Concern.
Support effective disaster relief.
***Donate now:* CONCERNUSA.ORG**

© 2017 CONCERN WORLDWIDE US INC.

The View

'POWER WAS THE MEANS, THE MOTIVE AND THE COVER-UP.' —PAGE 29



SOCIETY

How do you solve a problem like Harvey Weinstein?

By Stephanie Zacharek

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCO GROB FOR TIME

THE CONCEPT OF THE CASTING COUCH IS AS OLD as Hollywood itself, and the tacit code of silence about it is just as old. Actresses who have been propositioned—or worse—by moguls have long opted to remain silent for fear of losing parts. When you're a rabbit caught in the jaws of a lion, going limp at least gives you a chance of survival.

In a better world than the one we live in, any performer coerced in this way—made to feel that her career hinged on her sexual compliance at the hands of a powerful bully—would feel free enough to speak up. But until shockingly recently, the outcome of doing so was entirely predictable: a woman who spoke up risked losing standing in her profession, or at the very least being labeled a whiner who didn't know how to play the game. And the man in power would lose nothing. If anything, he'd just grow more powerful.

That code of silence protected Harvey Weinstein for an unconscionably long time. The day the New York *Times* ran its exposé, when Weinstein offered that initial "I just didn't know any better, this is just how we did things in the old days" defense, that thunderous sound you most certainly heard was the audible eye-rolling of women around the world. Even in the days of Darryl F. Zanuck, Harry Cohn and Howard Hughes—men who were said to extract sexual favors from a woman in return for career advancement (or even just one measly part)—there were plenty of men who knew better. There's enough shame in being a man who thinks it's O.K. to conduct yourself like a caveman. That, even as he was allegedly apologizing, Weinstein seemed to be off-loading responsibility for his behavior—essentially standing there in his short pants with his lollipop, blinking in disbelief that women could be so damn uncool about everything—makes that behavior even more monstrous.

'I opened the door terrified, brandishing my 20-lb. Chihuahua mix in front of me, as though that would do any good.'

MIRA SORVINO, to the *New Yorker*

The only plea I would make in the aftermath of Weinstein's downfall—a victory that's both wretched and sweet, considering how many people have been hurt along the way—is not to turn against the movies themselves. In the days after the Weinstein story broke, I noticed a number of young women on social media fretting that movies they had loved growing up—like *Shakespeare in Love, The English Patient, Jackie Brown* and *Good Will Hunting,* to name just a small number—now seemed tainted. Could they ever bear to enjoy them again?

But to reject the movies themselves amounts to punishing the victim. It undercuts the fine work that so many women—and decent men—have put into Weinstein-produced movies over the years. The ugly reality that some of those women were working under duress makes their contribution, and their fortitude, even more admirable. Don't let Weinstein take *Shakespeare in Love*—or your particular favorite—down with him as he slips into the hole he's dug for himself. Don't grant him that victory. He deserves to go down empty-handed.

Zacharek is TIME's film critic

A TIMELINE OF THE ACCUSATIONS

Twenty-five women have publicly accused the mogul of various misdeeds in bombshell investigations in the New York *Times* and the *New Yorker* as well as on social media. Weinstein denies many but not all claims.

AMBRA BATTILANA GUTIERREZ
Says Weinstein groped her in his Tribeca office in 2015

ASHLEY JUDD
Says Weinstein asked her to give him a massage and watch him shower in the 1990s

LAURA MADDEN
Says Weinstein repeatedly asked her for massages starting in 1991

ROSE McGOWAN
Received a $100,000 settlement in 1997 for an incident in a hotel room

ZELDA PERKINS
Received a settlement in 1998 after complaining about Weinstein's remarks and requests in hotel rooms

What Weinstein's downfall means for other predators

By Jill Filipovic

AFTER DECADES OF OPERATING WITH IMPUNITY as one of the most powerful men in entertainment, Harvey Weinstein has been brought down by a flood of chilling sexual harassment and assault claims, more of which may yet come to light. Power seems to have been his noxious aphrodisiac. Power was why some women acceded and others clammed up, why his employees helped facilitate his assaults and why so many in Hollywood looked the other way for decades. Power was the means, the motive and the cover-up. And power is exactly what he has lost, in a downfall that spans two coasts, several industries and dozens of klieg-lit names.

Weinstein spent decades building his fiefdom on the grounds of a pervasive "see something, say nothing" culture of capitulation. But at the same time, and apparently beyond his view, women were inching their way toward greater social, political and professional power. How fitting that it is their voices breaking the silence and shattering Hollywood's glass houses. In the rubble of Weinstein's empire, we find artifacts divulging so much about our values, our culture and ourselves. The story they tell is one of stunning hypocrisy and of the slow grind of earth shifting beneath us.

WEINSTEIN WAS RIGHT when he said, in a statement to the New York *Times*, that when he was growing up in the 1960s and '70s "all the rules about behavior and workplaces were different."

40%
Percentage of women who have experienced unwanted sexual behavior or advances at work

'I was a kid, I was signed up, I was petrified.'
GWYNETH PALTROW, to the New York *Times*

It may not have been O.K. to ask your female subordinate to watch you shower, or offer her a naked massage, but tolerating inappropriate sexual behavior from men was a cost many women entering the workforce assumed they had to bear. That began to change with Anita Hill's testimony in 1991 during the Senate confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Under oath and the glare of reproachful white men, she detailed Thomas' sexual advances and pornographic commentary. Thomas was confirmed anyway, but *sexual harassment* entered the mainstream lexicon.

Twenty-five years later, the concept is a staple of employee manuals, mandatory trainings and HR departments. Still, power differentials matter. Overt harassment may be increasingly kept in check, but sexual coercion and abuse have not been eradicated. They are simply more likely to be hidden from plain view—in an office with the door closed, in the corner of a company party, at what was supposed to be a working dinner, in a room at the Peninsula Beverly Hills hotel. It's no coincidence that harassment and even assault were pushed undercover at the same time more and more women entered previously male-dominated fields, rose to prominence and gained power in their own right. With more women in the room, and a few at the top, male workplace norms began to crack.

But only slightly. Across industries, there are still men so powerful, they seem untouchable. Feminist gains have only amplified this disconnect: women are told that the playing field is fair, so when men behave badly and everyone seems to know about it, it's not just hard to rock the boat—it's hard to know there's a boat that needs rocking.

Sexual-assault accusations had been swirling around Bill Cosby for years. But none seemed to stick, until they did—and more and more upon those. Cosby has so far escaped legal consequences,

EMILY NESTOR
Says Weinstein offered to help her career while bragging about his sexual encounters, and asked her to be his "girlfriend" in 2014

LAUREN SIVAN
Says Weinstein masturbated in front of her in 2007

LIZA CAMPBELL
Says Weinstein asked her to take a bath with him in 1995

ROMOLA GARAI
Says Weinstein made her audition for him in his empty hotel suite while he wore only a bathrobe

LUCIA EVANS
Says Weinstein forced her to perform oral sex on him in 2004

ASIA ARGENTO
Says Weinstein performed oral sex on her without her consent in 1997

MIRA SORVINO
Says Weinstein tried to give her a massage and then attempted to "get more physical" in 1995

SOURCES: THE NEW YORK TIMES, HUFFPOST, THE NEW YORKER, THE TIMES OF LONDON AND THE GUARDIAN

BATTILANA GUTIERREZ: SHUTTERSTOCK; JUDD, MCGOWAN, SIVAN: GETTY IMAGES (3); CAMPBELL: SHUTTERSTOCK; GARAI, ARGENTO, SORVINO: GETTY IMAGES (3)

ROSANNA ARQUETTE
Says Weinstein wanted a massage and attempted to make her touch his penis in the 1990s

JESSICA BARTH
Says Weinstein asked her to give him a naked massage in bed in 2011

EMMA DE CAUNES
Says Weinstein got naked in a hotel room and told her to lie down on his bed in 2010

GWYNETH PALTROW
Says Weinstein touched her and suggested they give each other massages in the 1990s

ANGELINA JOLIE
Says she had a "bad experience with [Weinstein] in my youth"

TOMI-ANN ROBERTS
Says Weinstein asked her to get naked for him in 1984

but he's a social pariah, with his reputation as a goofy sweater-wearing patriarch in tatters. Then in July 2016, Fox News anchor Gretchen Carlson filed a lawsuit against Roger Ailes, alleging years of sexual harassment from the Fox head honcho. Within days, more than half a dozen other women told stories of their own, and Ailes was fired before the month's end (albeit with a $40 million severance package).

In October of that year, the Washington *Post* published a video of Donald Trump bragging about grabbing women's genitals. More than a dozen women came forward to say he had done some version of just that, from forcibly kissing them to sexually assaulting them. (He denied the accusations.) Between January and April, it came to light that Fox News host Bill O'Reilly had settled millions of dollars' worth of sexual-harassment claims. Some of the stories had been previously reported, but after Cosby, Ailes and Trump, they took on new urgency and were treated with newfound seriousness. O'Reilly, too, was fired.

EACH OF THESE HIGH-PROFILE CASES echoes the last and accelerates the next. Toppling the first few titans was a heavy lift, and while it's still not easy, each successive predator seems to fall that much faster. Feminists have succeeded in getting sexual harassment and assault taken seriously enough to be career-ending. News organizations increasingly recognize that breaking these stories benefits both their reputations and their bottom line—the first to get there sets the media narrative for days or weeks. With each of these stories, you can imagine the newsroom dictates: Find the next Weinstein. And, if you're the kind of person to whom someone might talk about these things, you hear women whisper: Should I speak out about my own Weinstein?

This growing cacophony of mostly female voices no doubt has the remaining Weinsteins of the world holding their breath. But since the story broke, there has been a collective exhale among the women finally speaking out about "casting-couch culture," as Glenn Close put it in her statement condemning Weinstein. On the heels of the initial reports, Gwyneth Paltrow said that when she was a 22-year-old actress, Weinstein called her into a meeting in his hotel room, put his hands on her and, after her then boyfriend Brad Pitt confronted him about the harassment, threatened her to keep quiet. In the *New Yorker,* writer Ronan Farrow detailed additional accusations, including rape, and described the well-staffed machine that deceived young women into spending time alone with a man everyone knew was a predator. Weinstein was not a solo operator, and now his vast network of enablers is also falling under the scrutiny of the entertainers, journalists and activists who expect heads to roll. Weinstein's connections, political and professional—his power—have not protected him.

$40.7 million
Sum of monetary benefits claimed outside of litigation for sexual harassment in 2016

'Just talking to you about it, my whole body is shaking.'
ASIA ARGENTO to the *New Yorker*

Amid the wave of allegations and outcry from other Hollywood luminaries, Weinstein was fired. The Weinstein Company's all-male board was divided on his fate. Within 48 hours, four board members had resigned.

Weinstein had hobnobbed with the Democratic elite, including the Obamas and the Clintons. (Malia Obama was an intern at his company.) He had donated to prominent Democrats, including Elizabeth Warren and Al Franken. After the allegations surfaced, the Beltway cohort renounced him: the Obamas released a statement saying they were "disgusted" by the reports, and many Democrats turned the money he had donated over to charity, claiming Weinstein's reputation hadn't traveled from L.A. to D.C.

But the Weinstein saga nevertheless quickly became a political volleyball. Where was Hillary Clinton's denouncement? asked Donald Trump Jr. Why did the liberal media cover this up? wondered right-wing pundits. Clinton said she

KATHERINE KENDALL
Says Weinstein asked her to give him a massage and show him her breasts in 1993

JUDITH GODRÈCHE
Says Weinstein asked her to give him a massage and attempted to take off her sweater in 1996

DAWN DUNNING
Says Weinstein offered her film contracts if she agreed to participate in a threesome in 2003

LOUISETTE GEISS
Says Weinstein exposed himself to her and asked her to watch him masturbate in 2008

LOUISE GODBOLD
Says Weinstein "trap[ped] me in an empty meeting room," touched her shoulders and asked for a massage in the 1990s

ZOE BROCK
Says Weinstein got naked and asked for a massage in 1997

CARA DELEVINGNE
Says Weinstein tried to kiss her and asked her which women she had slept with

SOURCES: THE NEW YORKER, THE NEW YORK TIMES, ACES CONNECTION BLOG, MEDIUM, INSTAGRAM

ARQUETTE, CANNES: GETTY IMAGES (2); BARTH: SHUTTERSTOCK; PALTROW: REDUX; JOLIE: SHUTTERSTOCK; ROBERTS: MARK REIS—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; KENDALL: EMILY BERL—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; GODRÈCHE: GETTY IMAGES; DUNNING: ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; GEISS, DELEVINGNE: GETTY IMAGES (2)

was "shocked and appalled by the revelations"—only to be excoriated by Kellyanne Conway for taking five days to speak up. Never mind that it has been more than 365 days since video came out of Conway's boss boasting that he can "grab [women] by the pussy" because "when you're a star, they let you do it. You can do anything," with no denouncement or resignation from Conway or any other members of his staff as a result. Never mind that the "liberal media" broke the Weinstein story (as well as the stories about Ailes and O'Reilly, who both worked at a conservative media company that, the accusers say, systematically covered up their misbehavior). When it's right-wing men in influential positions, harassment is too often downgraded to "locker-room talk," and "pussy grabbing" is boys being boys.

The supposedly liberal men of Hollywood weren't much better. With only scant exceptions—Seth Rogen, Mark Ruffalo, George Clooney—many of the progressive men of the entertainment industry seemed to have gone curiously missing. Even among feminists, there was less of a collective smugness about Weinstein's undoing than there was about the accusations leveled against Ailes or O'Reilly. It's less satisfying when the powerful men in question have play-acted something resembling feminism—and perhaps even manipulated women's causes to shield their abuses.

One certainly understands why working actresses may continue to remain silent: when he got word that he could be fired, Weinstein solicited support from talent agents and industry executives so that he may eventually "resurrect" himself. His spokeswoman confirmed to the *New Yorker* that "Mr. Weinstein is hoping that, if he makes enough progress, he will be given a second chance." For his part, Weinstein has alternately claimed and denied responsibility. In a bizarre statement to the New York *Times,* Weinstein first justified his actions, then quoted Jay-Z about wanting to be a better man. Weinstein also said he's been trying to change his ways "for 10 years." The statement concluded with lines about his coming battles against the NRA, the location of his bar mitzvah and the $5 million foundation at the University of Southern California that he was organizing to support female directors. "It will be named after my mom, and I won't disappoint her," Weinstein said. (The pledge was subsequently rejected.) But before he could finish saying "mea culpa," his lawyer Lisa Bloom, who initially advised Weinstein on the unfolding scandal, was denying the allegations as "patently false."

'I want to leave.'

AMBRA BATTILANA GUTIERREZ, on a recording from an NYPD sting operation

70% to 90%

Percentage of victims who do not file a complaint with their employers or with fair-employment agencies

EVERY WOMAN KNOWS THESE MEN. We've worked for them, loved them, married them, raised them. We've watched their movies and read their books and cast ballots checking their names. We've occasionally been the Lisa Bloom in the Harvey Weinstein drama, compromising our ideals to defend a friend or protect our own hard-won but tenuous position. Every woman also knows the pretty good men who aren't predators, but who intentionally or tacitly create the conditions for the predation, degradation or even just marginalization of women: the men who make up all-male boards and executive leadership, who don't want to create discomfort by challenging sexism from friends or co-workers, who hire and mentor and promote younger men who remind them of themselves, who go silent on "women's issues." We are often quick to absolve them, and how could we not? Severing our ties with all of these men would require self-banishment to a remote cave, or at least expatriation to a radical commune. The Roger Aileses of the world are easy to dismiss, and their downfalls are easy to celebrate. The men who are supposed to be on our side, though—these men are the ones who break our hearts.

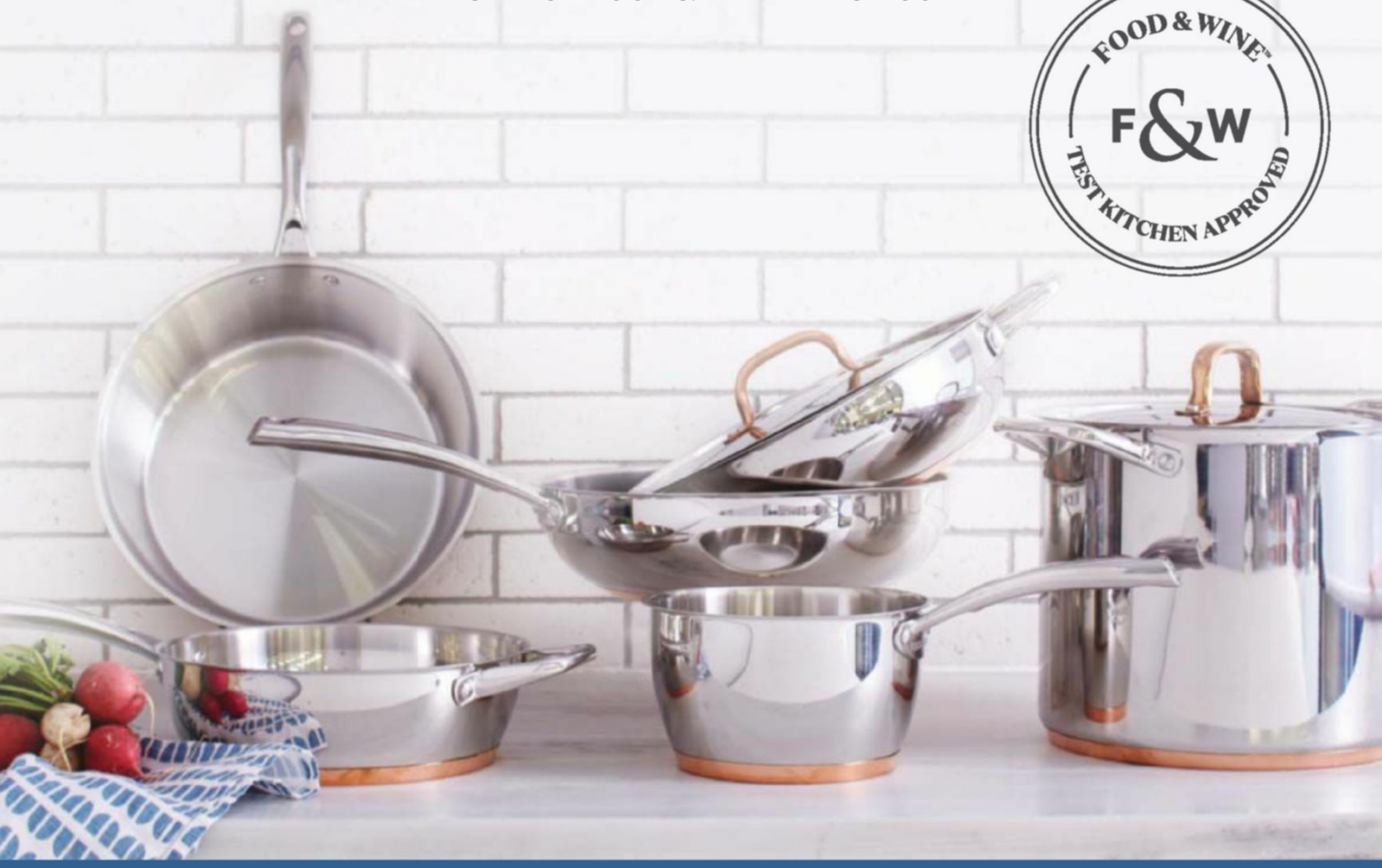
Filipovic is a writer and lawyer

ADVERTISEMENT

THE FOOD & WINE™ COLLECTION

Now Available at HSN

SHOP THE NEW COLLECTION
SEARCH FOOD & WINE AT HSN.COM



$10 OFF YOUR FIRST FOOD & WINE ORDER WITH CODE 176490

HSN It's fun here®

Coupon 176490 can be used on more than one item and can only be used once by its recipient and is valid for new HSN customers only. This coupon is valid for $10 off your HSN order of $20 or more from HSN's distributed commerce platforms, HSN TV, HSN2, HSN.COM, HSN Mobile or HSN Shop By Remote (where available). Coupon number is non-transferable. Coupons must be applied when order is placed. Excludes shipping & handling, sales tax, Today's Special, Today's Special Presale, This Day Only offers, and clearance items and can only be applied to the first shipment of Auto-Ship items. The use of this coupon may disqualify the order from inclusion in other promotional offers or discounts. Coupons cannot be applied to or combined with other coupons. Coupon is not valid for Arrow Sewing, charitable contributions, gift cards, wine and alcohol, Janome, Samsung large appliances, selected footwear, the iRobot Roomba 880, electronics and gaming. We reserve the right to cancel orders when unexpected coupon system errors occur or in the case of abuse, misuse or fraud in connection with the coupon number. Offer is valid 10/1/2017-12/31/2017. Coupon Expires on 12/31/2017

The power of speaking out

By Mira Sorvino

I HAVE LIVED IN VAGUE FEAR OF HARVEY Weinstein for over 20 years, ever since the incidents I described in the *New Yorker*. At the time I don't think I even knew that what happened—Weinstein using business-related situations to try and press himself sexually on a young woman in his employ—qualified as sexual harassment. Coming forward with my story has been a real struggle. But as a woman who routinely advocates for women and girls who have been victimized in my role as a U.N. goodwill ambassador, and as a mother, I could no longer remain silent.

At the time, I told people close to me and tried to confide in a female employee at Weinstein's company, Miramax. Her reaction was as though I was suddenly radioactive for daring to bring it up, which gave me little encouragement. I had no idea that the abuse was so widespread, and in some cases, so long-term for the victims. I don't know how I evaded more repeat attempts, perhaps because shortly after the second incident I began a romantic relationship with one of his top directors that lasted three years.

Ultimately, my conscience and my desire to break away from the tyranny of intimidation made me shakily agree to put my name and specifically identifiable details in Ronan Farrow's story. We live in a culture in which sexual harassment and rape are rife, part of the power dynamic between men and women in the workplace. That my silence could mean complicity was not something I could live with.

I second-guessed my decision, wondering if being a whistle-blower would mean being blacklisted. But once I knew the story was going to print, an enormous peace washed over me—a sense that finally I had taken my personal power back. My fear of what could be done to me has been outweighed by an overwhelming sense that I am living with full courage and honesty. As other women have spoken out, the support has been overwhelming and deeply gratifying.

I am here to encourage a mass speaking-out. Victim-shaming must be quelled, and the real evildoers called out and punished to the fullest extent of the law. We must, can and will work together to change that culture right now, so that we may walk head up and unbowed, unafraid to live our lives in freedom, solidarity and power.

Sorvino is an Oscar-winning actor and a UNODC Ambassador Against Human Trafficking

$300,000

The cap on discrimination and harassment claims for large employers (though uncapped damages are available under state law)

'I was so hesitant about speaking out ... I didn't want to hurt his family. I felt guilty as if I did something wrong.'

CARA DELEVINGNE, on Instagram

Why I decided to make my future about fighting back

By Gretchen Carlson

SINCE THE MEDIA FIRST REPORTED MY story about sexual harassment at Fox News, one question has weighed heavily on my mind: What can I do to help women who can't afford to stand up against workplace harassment? It's not just a problem in the media industry, or in Hollywood, where so many brave women have spoken out against the disgusting abuses of Harvey Weinstein. Over the past 15 months, I've heard from thousands of women: fast-food workers, single moms and many other women working two jobs just to try and make ends meet.

Putting aside the enormous courage it takes to actually speak up, many women can't risk the financial consequences of standing up to power and subjecting themselves to retaliation, character assassination, demotion, termination and blacklisting.

Speaking up about harassment and other forms of abuse is an important step in the process, but it's only the first step in a mission to make life better for our friends, coworkers and children. My advocacy efforts most recently have been focused on Capitol Hill, where I'm working to obtain bipartisan support for a bill that would prohibit the forced-arbitration clauses that are embedded in many employment contracts.

I'm proud to announce the Gretchen Carlson Leadership Initiative, a program I believe will be the beginning of a solution. A GCLI grant will fund multiday programming in nine cities, bringing women's civic leadership training to thousands of underserved women, with a focus on empowering survivors of gender-based violence, discrimination and harassment. The most important part to me: the program will be free.

I never expected to become the face of this issue, but here I am. I live my life by the motto "Carpe diem," which helps me make the most of every opportunity. Through GCLI, I will share the gift of courage with others, encouraging you, your family members, your friends and your colleagues to stand up, speak up, come together and take your power back.

Carlson is the author of Be Fierce. *Sales proceeds will go to the Gift of Courage fund*

Electric vehicles are here. Now we need to figure out how to charge them

By Justin Worland

IN THE CENTURY SINCE THE DAWN OF THE MASS-MARKET car, more than 100,000 gas stations have popped up along the country's 4 million miles of roads and highways—and a stop to refuel became a crucial part of the quintessential U.S. road trip.

But the heyday of the gas station as a place to refuel is probably drawing to a close. Analysts project that sales of electric vehicles will outnumber sales of gas-powered cars by mid-century. That means a wholesale rethinking of the infrastructure that consumers use to charge their batteries

Powering that electric-car fleet will require a dramatic increase in public charging stations from the 16,000 active today—and fast. How many will be needed? That's a bit unclear, but a good estimate from the Department of Energy (DOE) is four plugs for every 100 plug-in electric vehicles. The number of electric vehicles sold annually—including both plug-in hybrids and fully electric cars—is expected to grow from around 160,000 in 2016 to 1.5 million by 2030, assuming current federal tax incentives remain in place, according to the Energy Information Administration.

LESS CLEAR is who, exactly, is responsible for creating charging stations. "The question is up in the air," says John Heywood, a professor emeritus of engineering at MIT who has studied electric vehicles. "Questions need to be answered before we sort things out."

Automakers, power companies, third-party charging companies and federal, state and local governments may all have a vested interest in electric-vehicle infrastructure. That does not mean any of them are rushing to build them.

That's partly because, at the moment, charging stations remain largely unprofitable. There is little incentive for private charging companies to invest without a guarantor. So automakers and governments have stepped in, working with charging companies on their own piecemeal initiatives.

Charging stations are popping up in parking garages and public spaces. Tesla offers its drivers chargers along its own charging corridor, providing coast-to-coast driving access. BMW and Nissan have joined together to fund their own high-powered charging stations. And Volkswagen committed $2 billion to developing charging points in a settlement over its fraudulent diesel emissions scheme.

States from California to Connecticut have also committed to the effort, offering various grants and incentives to companies building charging points. This month several Western governors from a group that includes Colorado, Utah and Wyoming laid out plans for 5,000 miles of charging stations.

These efforts will rapidly expand the ability to charge on the go, but most remain in early days, leaving consumers to fare largely for themselves. As a result, more than 85% of charging happens at home, according to DOE. That solution is convenient for suburban drivers who can easily power up in a home garage but inaccessible for urban dwellers and long-distance commuters. "If you buy a battery electric vehicle, you need to buy a home recharger," says Heywood. "Well, that implies you have a home."

10%
The percentage of charging that currently takes place at a public charging station

58%
The percentage of new-car sales in the U.S. expected to be electric by 2040

30
The time, in minutes, it takes to add 90 miles of range to a Chevy Bolt with a high-power DC charger

SOURCES: PLUGINSIGHTS; BNEF

INDUSTRY ANALYSTS are betting that tech advances will unlock the golden age of charging. Most drivers today charge at home using a regular outlet, but DC charging can do the same job in a fraction of the time and is growing fast in popularity on roadsides. "A lot of early adopters would have been reluctant without the chargers at home," says Graham Evans, an auto-technology analyst at the market-research firm IHS Markit. "The next wave will see the chargers around."

Analysts expect the option to expand even further as the time for a long-distance charge declines to around 10 to 15 minutes. That's a bit longer than it takes to fill a tank. But on a road trip, between bathroom breaks and snack selection, not necessarily a delay. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY SYD WEILER FOR TIME

The world is full of possibilities.
One is to use the power of materials
to turn seawater into drinking water.
Meet reverse osmosis membrane technology by Toray.

Materials can change our lives.

www.toray.com

'TORAY'
Innovation by Chemistry

When the Commander in Chief disrespects his commanders

By James Stavridis

THERE IS A GLITTERING ANNUAL DINNER AT THE White House that is typically exclusive to the most senior admirals and generals in the U.S. military: the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs; the service chiefs of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard; and the combatant commanders, who are the most senior four-star officers and who direct U.S. combat operations, reporting directly to the Secretary of Defense and the President. For seven years, as a combatant commander, I attended these gatherings. They were intimate and off-the-record affairs—a chance for the Commander in Chief to bond quietly and privately with his commanders.

Recently, at President Trump's first of these dinners, it was surprising to see him use those senior officers and their spouses as a backdrop for a cryptic comment to the press: "You guys know what this represents? Maybe it's the calm before the storm." When asked what the "storm" was, he responded equally oddly: "You'll find out." Speculation ran wild. Was it a military strike on North Korea? Iran? Venezuela? The White House refused to clarify, citing a desire to keep the enemy guessing.

At an earlier meeting in the Cabinet room, Trump publicly, bluntly dressed down his admirals and generals: "Moving forward, I also expect you to provide me with a broad range of military options, when needed, at a much faster pace. I know that government bureaucracy is slow, but I am depending on you to overcome the obstacles of bureaucracy." That kind of rebuke—in the presence of the press—is a hard moment for senior military officials who wake up every morning seeking to keep the nation safe and have worked at a record pace to keep up with a disorganized White House's constant desire for new military options.

President Trump stands for a photo op after an Oct. 5 dinner with top U.S. military officials and their spouses

PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVAIS—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

A FEW DAYS LATER, well-respected Republican Senator Bob Corker of Tennessee addressed in a series of remarks another crucial role of senior military in the Administration: essentially providing psychological guardrails around the President's impulsive and dangerous tendency to blurt out highly inflammatory statements on Twitter. Corker also upped the verbal ante by describing the collective role of General John Kelly (White House chief of staff), General James Mattis (Secretary of Defense) and Lieut. General H.R. McMaster (National Security Adviser) as running "an adult day care center."

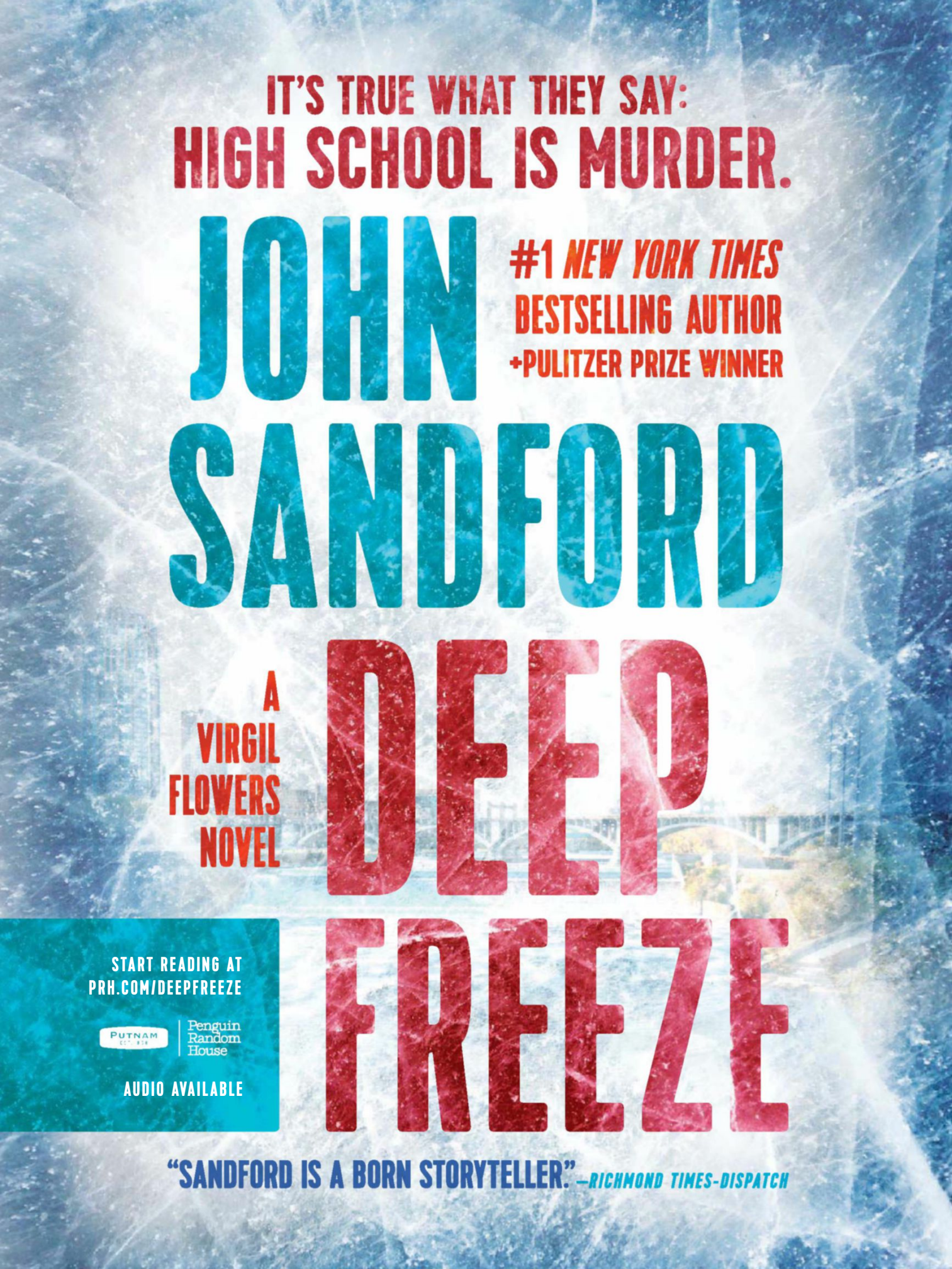
Then Vice President Mike Pence pulled the military even further into the political debate over NFL players' taking a knee during the national anthem when he exited a game after several athletes undertook their planned protest. He said his reason for leaving was, in part, the fact that he and the President "stand with our soldiers."

ALL OF THIS creates an unsettling image of Trump's relationship with the senior military. On the one hand, he clearly manifests great respect for them, and has selected a coterie of the most senior retired officers for jobs at the highest levels in the Cabinet and White House. But it seems he has a need to dominate them publicly and is trying to pull them into public political debates in ways that will be increasingly uncomfortable for them. He continues to tweet in a jingoistic and militaristic way, effectively swaggering on the global and domestic stage with the cudgel of U.S. military prowess—inflaming already fraught situations and placing him in conflict with the steady advice from his generals, whose operational competence, loyalty to the nation and apolitical approach are thus far unquestioned.

These admirals and generals swear an oath to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States." That is the bedrock for every one of these active and retired officers: serve the nation and avoid the partisan crosswinds. But the ground is slipping under them. Trump is like a hurricane: unpredictable, potentially destructive and endowed with enormous power. Thankfully, our military can stand as a kind of bulwark against his darker angels, but only up to a point. In the end, these officers will obey his lawful orders.

We must hope he will listen to his military counsel, while insulating them from the partisan bickering that is so endemic in our Republic. Meanwhile, the senior military must avoid the politics of the moment and, in private, continue to speak truth to power in the most direct and meaningful ways.

Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a retired Supreme Allied Commander at NATO


IT'S TRUE WHAT THEY SAY:
HIGH SCHOOL IS MURDER.
JOHN SANDFORD
#1 NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLING AUTHOR
+PULITZER PRIZE WINNER
A VIRGIL FLOWERS NOVEL
DEEP FREEZE
START READING AT PRH.COM/DEEPFREEZE
PUTNAM
Penguin Random House
AUDIO AVAILABLE
"SANDFORD IS A BORN STORYTELLER." —RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

The tipping point: When do female leaders become the norm?

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

IF WOMEN RAN THE COUNTRY, THE LEADERSHIP would probably look like the crowd at *Fortune*'s annual Most Powerful Women Summit. The usual male-female ratio is reversed. For three days, you can visit a parallel universe where the high-level leaders in every conceivable field are women—onstage, in the audience, at the hotel bar. Gone is the lone female general or CEO in a group shot of guys in suits; instead she's just one of 300 elite women in the room. It's a normalization of female power that's so unusual, it's a bit startling.

In this world, the senior Senator from Minnesota, Amy Klobuchar, would probably be President. She opened the summit with a fierce and funny keynote about equality and the importance of women's voices, prompting more than a little speculation that she might really run for the top job. She jokes that people often think she works for the other Senator from Minnesota, Al Franken. As she points out, she's still not what we think a Senator looks like. Fewer than 50 women have been elected to the Senate in U.S. history.

Her talk was a reminder that outside the Washington hotel where the summit was held, women are losing the numbers game. A lot of the attendees were the first and only women in the upper echelons of their professions. Just 6% of *Fortune* 500 companies are run by women.

Ariel Investments president Mellody Hobson onstage at Fortune's *Most Powerful Women Summit*

THIS IMBALANCE IS A SIGN that we have not reached a tipping point that changes the power dynamic. Nilofer Merchant, a former tech CEO and the author of *The Power of Onlyness,* explains it this way: "When you are less than 15% of a dominant majority group, it's harder to voice your own ideas. There's tremendous pressure to assimilate for your own survival rather than risking your place in the group by challenging the majority." This is understandable: in the hierarchy of needs, belonging is just after food and shelter.

And if you're one of very few women, or people of color, Merchant says you may feel that you can't always be the one speaking for women or Muslims or African Americans or whatever makes you different. You're just more scrutinized, and that can constrain your ability to be seen as an individual with your own ideas. Merchant says there's a critical mass at which point this dynamic changes: "Research has shown that at least 30% of a group has to consist of nonconformists before the 'other' label is abandoned and each member is valued for him- or herself."

Getting to that 30% organically has proved all but impossible for women at high levels in most industries, from Silicon Valley to Hollywood. As Reshma Saujani, CEO and founder of Girls Who Code, put it at a panel on inclusion, she has come to realize that "people don't give up power easily." And at a dinner, Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau talked about the push he and the government of Canada are making to get more women in the political pipeline. He famously jump-started equality by making his Cabinet 50% women when he took office two years ago.

Women of color have it doubly hard. Mellody Hobson, president of Ariel Investments, pointed out that most diversity advancements have benefited white women. And in a poignant moment, Hobson's fellow panelist Thasunda Duckett, CEO of Consumer Banking at JPMorgan Chase, challenged the audience of mainly white executives to step up on behalf of women of color: "What we need from all of you is to commit that this is a sisterhood. Because there's not enough of us up here."

One place where women seem to have reached a tipping point is sexual harassment and assault. A few brave women stepped out to accuse Harvey Weinstein of bullying young female actors for sexual favors, and then the floodgates opened as they have in other recent cases where dozens of women have come forward to back up their sisters. As a result, famous men who've been rumored to be sexual predators for years have finally been called to account for their behavior. It's hard to know what's changed or just what happened to reach critical mass now. But we can only hope that there's no going back. ◻

STUART ISETT FOR FORTUNE MOST POWERFUL WOMEN

"My art falls in the space where beauty meets strength."

– MAYA FREELON ASANTE, ARTIST

Deftly combining colors, textures and themes to create something more powerful than the sum of its parts – this is artist Maya Freelon Asante's mission. Cadillac was driven by a similar calling when it created the 2017 Cadillac Escalade. Built on a timeless legacy, the Escalade is the perfect balance of strength and beauty that exceeds your every expectation. This is *The Art of Daring*. **DAREGREATLY.COM/ARTOFDARING**

Cadillac

DARE GREATLY

© 2017 General Motors. All Rights Reserved. Cadillac®

THE FIRE

Fire burns along a ridge behind a Napa County vineyard. More than 15 wildfires raged in California on Oct. 10

PHOTOGRAPH BY NOAH BERGER—
SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE/POLARIS

SEASON

Deadly blazes are breaking out across California—and getting worse every year

By Katy Steinmetz/San Francisco

For more wildfire photography, visit **time.com/california-on-fire**

THERE IS NO GOOD time for a wildfire to break out, but the middle of the night may be the worst. The darkness makes it hard for firefighters to size up the flames, and people like Eduardo Flores are tucked away in their beds. When Flores, 66, and his wife awoke to find flames nearing their Santa Rosa, Calif., mobile-home park in the early hours of Oct. 9, they hammered on neighbors' windows and doors, imploring them to wake up—and race out. "By the grace of God, we got out with our lives," Flores says. "It was literally raining fire. We were choking, gasping for air." They made it to a safe distance, and then watched their home turn to ash.

As of Oct. 10, 17 large wildfires were burning in California, including one of the worst firestorms the northern part of the state has ever seen. The flames ate through pristine wilderness and manicured communities both, claiming lives and torching homes and businesses as well as wineries in the world-renowned regions of Napa and Sonoma. The blazes left at least 17 people dead, dozens more missing and more than 2,000 structures destroyed. Among the tragic toll were animals unable to escape. One observer said the smell of their charred remains lingered in air thick with ash and the fire retardant dropped by planes flying above.

As an estimated 20,000 people evacuated, Governor Jerry Brown declared an emergency in eight counties and asked the federal government for help. President Trump approved a federal disaster declaration on Oct. 10. "We will be there," the President said of California, a state that is leading the legal charge against many of his key domestic policies. As Trump spoke, the fires had collectively burned more than 115,000 acres, an area three times the size of San Francisco, where smoke floated down from blazes to the city's north.

OCTOBER TENDS TO BE the worst month for wildfires in California. The land is parched and humidity is low. And conditions were primed for fires to spread in recent days as gusts of over 50 m.p.h. whipped blazes across ground that had been drying out all summer.

This year's fire season had "already been an extremely busy one," says Daniel Berlant, assistant deputy director at the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection. The state has grappled with more than 7,700 fires in 2017 so far, and their number and intensity has been growing year over year, with bigger blazes causing more destruction during a fire season that is now about 78 days longer than it was in 1970.

Many factors explain why: California only recently emerged from a five-year drought, turning its trees and shrubs into ready-made tinderboxes. A decline in logging has ensured that forests are packed with fuel. And the state's steadily growing population means a greater risk of fires, with more people in harm's way. Experts like Scott Stephens, a professor of fire science at the University of California, Berkeley, say climate change is a key part of the equation too. Increased temperatures are making it "more difficult to deal with fire in the state," he says, "because of drier, longer seasons."

So does that mean the fires will only get worse? Stephens says there are plenty of small ways Californians can minimize the number of people who find themselves suddenly homeless. Measures range from changing rules about where people are allowed to build to teaching homeowners not to keep firewood near the front porch.

That lesson is little help for those who no longer have porches to go home to. On Oct. 10, with winds dying down, some residents were working their way back into evacuation zones to see what was left. Napa winemaker Clayton Kirchhoff weaved through smoke and back roads only to find that his home was "just gone." He knew he was lucky to be safe. But he was overcome by big and little questions, like whether the wine he had been tending each day would spoil and turn to vinegar, or what would have happened if he had been asleep when the fire started. For the moment he planned to sift through the rubble, he said, "and see if there's anything that might have survived." —*With reporting by* MELISSA CHAN/NEW YORK

Flames consume a building at Signorello Estate in Napa on Oct. 9, one of multiple wineries burned

PHOTOGRAPH BY NOAH BERGER—SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE/POLARIS

Smoke and water stream through the roof of a damaged home in Anaheim Hills on Oct. 9

PHOTOGRAPH BY STUART PALLEY—LOS ANGELES TIMES/GETTY IMAGES

Santa Rosa, a city of 175,000 people in Sonoma County, saw widespread destruction as fires ravaged homes and businesses

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF FROST FOR TIME

Nation

THE CAMPUS CULTURE WARS

Students are clashing over the costs of free speech, and who gets hurt

By KATY STEINMETZ

Demonstrators showed up to both support and oppose an appearance by right-wing provocateur Milo Yiannopoulos at the University of California, Berkeley, on Sept. 24. Because of past violence, there was a heavy police presence

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID BUTOW FOR TIME

JUST PAST MIDNIGHT ON SEPT. 6, A CORNELL UNIVERSITY FRESHMAN WAS scrolling through Snapchat in her dorm, a building known as the Latino Living Center, when she heard a voice outside her window: "Build a wall around the LLC!" Hours earlier, the Trump Administration had announced that it would phase out the Obama-era program known as DACA, which has shielded young undocumented immigrants from being deported. So when the 18-year-old flew down the stairs to tell other Latino students that she had heard those words coming from the direction of a neighboring fraternity, they responded by emailing the frat—and also filing a flurry of bias reports with the school.

By the next night, a student group called La Asociación Latina had posted a list of demands on Facebook, asking the fraternity to issue a formal apology and institute diversity training. It also asked the school to acknowledge that this was not an isolated incident but an event emblematic of the "bigotry and discrimination" that had gone unchecked on the campus. The group included a statement from an assistant professor who described the chants as "acts of terror" targeting "a stressed out and vulnerable community." Cornell officials responded by expressing concern and also recognizing the "rights of open expression." Arky Asmal, a junior and part of the group's leadership, took issue with those terms. "Free speech is speech that is not aimed to hurt," he says. "Free speech that dehumanizes is not free."

That assertion captures a fundamental conflict dividing campuses across the country as students try to both identify—and end—entrenched discrimination while preserving the near sacred value of free speech.

It's a dizzying battleground: civil libertarians resist demands that even hateful speech be shut down as students protest controversial speakers and right-wing critics dismiss young liberals as delicate "snowflakes." U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions has joined the fray, saying in a recent speech at Georgetown University that college students too often "silence voices that insufficiently conform with their views." Long in the ideological minority, conservative students complain that they're not free to exchange ideas in what feel like liberal echo chambers. And even those who are sympathetic to the students pushing for more inclusive norms on campus think some of their tactics are counterproductive. As the Supreme Court has argued in protecting hate speech, if you limit speech, ultimately it's minorities who are most likely to see their viewpoints squelched.

But the push and pull isn't just about speech. Many liberal students believe a tolerance for hostile rhetoric is an indicator of bigger injustices, both on campuses and in society, that need to be addressed. Campuses are "places that continue to oppress their students without knowing because it's the status quo of this country," says Cornell senior Silvia Treviño. Her side is making

Students at the University of California, Los Angeles, protest against Donald Trump on Inauguration Day

3,039

Number of four-year colleges in the U.S.

3.3 MILLION

Number of college students who identified as Hispanic as of 2015, nearly 10 times the number enrolled in 1976. The percentage of white students on campus dropped from nearly 85% to about 58% during that time.

22%

Percentage of incoming freshmen who identified as right of center in 2016; 36% said they were left of center.

SOURCES: NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS; HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH INSTITUTE

PREVIOUS PAGES: REDUX; UCLA: MINTAHA NESLIHAN EROLU—ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

no bones about snuffing out every sign of exclusion at a time when white nationalists are literally marching in the streets. And supporters see these young people as embarking on the "newest phase of the civil rights transformation," as one advocate puts it, taking on lingering vestiges of inequality as they demand that buildings be renamed or "safe spaces" be created.

It's all happening as waves of hostility crash on both sides of the university gates, with the rise of the alt right, the naming of the "alt left," the spread of fake news, the tendency of people to damn one another on social media before holing up in their politically curated silos. "There's almost a culture of gotcha, where one false statement or infelicitous framing can become the fodder for a million tweets," says Suzanne Nossel, executive director of free-speech advocacy organization PEN America. "That impairs our discourse."

The continuing fights are a fundamental challenge for higher education. Nervous faculty inch along a tightrope, trying to protect students who feel threatened without shielding them from uncomfortable ideas. Complaints about coddling collect in administrators' inboxes. So do calls for empathy. Does the right balance involve issuing a "trigger warning" before Thomas Hobbes' proclamation that the life of man is by nature "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"? Depends on who you ask.

IN THE PAST, universities have been at the vanguard of civil rights, yet few values are more important in education than the free exchange of ideas. The University of California, Berkeley, proud home of the Free Speech Movement, has struggled to find a balance. Over the past year conservative students have repeatedly invited controversial speakers who have tested the school's commitment to free speech—and the patience of their peers. The invites have fired up outside activists too, including extremists on the right and left who violently clashed in the city several times last semester. So when the current semester began with an appearance by Ben Shapiro—a former Breitbart editor who has decried the "spoiled brats" who perpetuate "the victim mentality that now dominates America's college campuses"—a showdown was inevitable.

On the night of Sept. 14 police officers roamed the campus by the dozen, decked out in riot gear and driving armored cars. Helicopters hovered above. Hundreds of students and local antifascist activists came out to protest, and the school shut down a whole section of campus. A small group of students occupied one of the closed buildings, hanging messages to the chancellor in the windows: STUDENT SAFETY OVER SPOILED SPEAKERS. Their chants could be heard by the crowds waiting to get into the venue. "What kind of speech is free?" the occupiers chanted, "Only white supremacy!"

Inside, Shapiro repeated old arguments that minority groups overstate the effects of racism and oppression. "In a free country, if you fail, it is probably your own fault," he said. He also disavowed white supremacy and the alt right; his remarks could not be heard outside, but it's not clear how much that would have mattered. Even after he had finished, protesters continued to speak out against both "neo-Nazis" and the police, with some arguing that their heavy presence was traumatizing for students of color.

Other campuses have endured their own controversies over speakers. Charles Murray, an academic who has linked socioeconomic status to race and intelligence, was shouted down by what critics called a "mob" of protesters at Middlebury College last March. (In the aftermath a professor got a concussion, and Murray ended up giving his speech via livestream from a video studio.) Not all end so badly: there were no injuries after Shapiro's appearance, though nine people had been arrested and the school was out an estimated $600,000 in security costs.

That Berkeley would spend that much money to host someone who spoke for only 30 minutes before beginning a Q&A is a testament to the pressure that universities are under to prove that all viewpoints can be heard. "There are those who perceive universities to be the farm team for the liberal establishment, rightly or wrongly," says Berkeley spokesman Dan Mogulof. "As a public institution we have to abide by the First Amendment."

The First Amendment is chiefly a bar on the government's ability to restrict the press, and while it is not unlimited, it doesn't mention the academy. What drives students and professors to invite these speakers is mostly the audience: many campuses in America are overwhelmingly liberal, especially lately. The Higher Education Research Institute has polled incoming freshmen for decades

GLOSSARY OF HOT-BUTTON TERMS

Part of what makes debates over free speech hard to moderate is that there is little agreement on what words mean. Definitions are prone to shift over time, depending on who is doing the speaking and who is listening. Here is a primer of some terms related to this story, with definitions adapted from dictionaries, to provide a starting point.

alt right (alt left)

A political movement originating on social media and online forums, composed of a segment of conservatives who support extreme right-wing ideologies, including white nationalism and anti-Semitism. Note: Trump has described extreme left-wing activists as the "alt left."

antifascist

Someone who is opposed to fascism or to extreme right-wing authoritarianism. In general use, *fascism* often refers to oppressive or intolerant views. Left-wing protesters who identify as "antifa," a shortened form of *antifascist,* have used tactics like vandalism to oppose right-wing speakers or ideas they believe to be harmful.

free speech

The right to express any opinions without censorship or restraint. Some use this term in a legal sense, to discuss viewpoint protection provided by law. Others draw more subjective distinctions between *free speech* and *hate speech,* arguing that hate speech deserves to be protested or censored.

marginalize

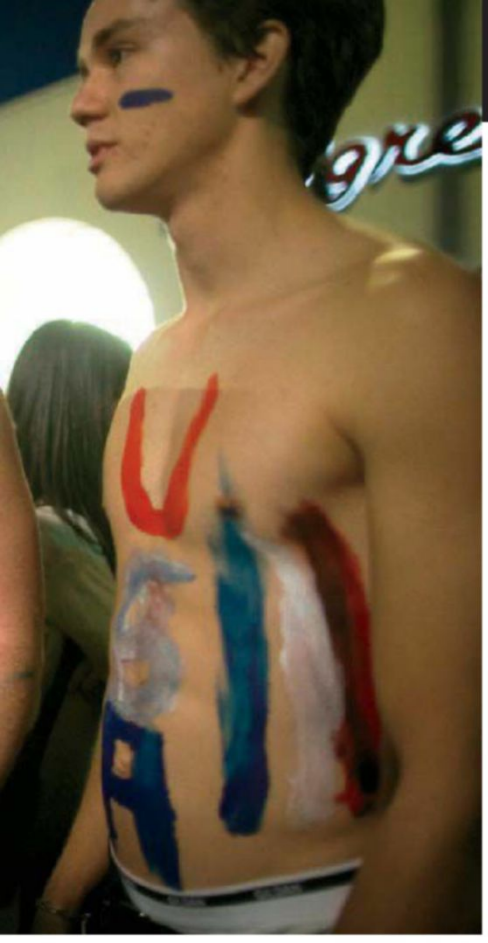
To treat a person, group or concept as insignificant or peripheral; to force into a position of powerlessness. Groups that have been historically oppressed based on characteristics such as skin color or sexual orientation are often described as marginalized.

and found that there was a historic low of students who identified as "middle of the road" in 2016, at 42%, as well as one of the highest proportions who identified as left of center, at about 36%. Just over 20% said they fell to the right. The numbers for faculty are even more skewed. When the institute last surveyed faculty, in 2013, about 60% identified as left of center, compared with about 13% who characterized themselves as conservatives or on the far right.

Conor Healy, a junior at Harvard University, describes himself as a libertarian and is, according to at least one fellow student, "the most hated person on campus." He helped start a group called the Open Campus Initiative, which exists to invite speakers with viewpoints that are not the ones "everybody already likes," he says. Fellow students protested when his group brought Murray to speak in September. "Holding different views means people don't want to talk to you," Healy says. "It means people feel you deserve social punishment." He says many peers won't tolerate questions about issues like gun control or abortion because the act of asking suggests there is doubt about the "right" answer. Conservative students elsewhere say political correctness has gone too far and that they can only have conversations about what they really think in secret. As one recent college graduate put it, "I should be able to tell people I voted for Trump without worrying they'll do something to my car." The phenomenon mirrors habits outside the campus: President Trump's victory might not have been such a shock had more voters felt comfortable admitting their support to pollsters.

"One of the things that does happen is label flinging," says Addison Merryman, a conservative evangelical Christian who studies at Duke University. "People throw around the labels of *racist, sexist, homophobe, xenophobe,* so you have to be very careful about what you say and who you say it to." Liberal "groupthink," as one of his peers describes it, doesn't necessarily mean conservative students feel silenced so much as a need to be meticulous about the words they use.

The fear of backlash extends inside the classroom. Robert Paquette, a history professor at Hamilton College in New York state, says students often lament to him that it isn't safe to speak their mind because other students or even a teacher might "come down on them" for taking an unpopular position. "And I've raised the question," he says. "You mean to tell me at Hamilton College you're paying



Demonstrators take to the streets around Berkeley's campus on the night of Shapiro's appearance. Students say the school feels "under threat"

ELIJAH NOUVELAGE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

$65,000 a year to censor yourself? What kind of education is that?"

Some professors have also reported a chilling effect on their own speech, citing complaints that texts by authors like Mark Twain are "offensive." Bret Weinstein, a longtime biology professor at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Wash., says many colleagues worry that saying or doing something that students find impolitic could lead to complaints and imperil their jobs. "The threat … is not an idle one," he told TIME in early September.

Weinstein, who describes himself as liberal, became a hero to the right last semester when he opposed the structure of "Day of Absence," when white students are encouraged to leave campus for a day as part of an exercise that has traditionally highlighted the contributions made by minority students. "It's simply not acceptable to ask people not to come to school on the basis of their skin color," he says. Unhappy students surrounded him in a hallway and called for his job. Citing multiple incidents of alleged racism on campus, they also barricaded the school president in a room to air their grievances. The protests became a national flashpoint in the fights over campus culture. "Colleges have to be about discovering what we don't yet know," Weinstein says, "and that process will come to a screeching halt if we are leveling threats of bias over the way people phrase things."

By late September, Weinstein had resigned, and the school had agreed to pay him a $500,000 settlement in response to a claim alleging that the college failed to protect its employees.

BEING SENSITIVE TO the words people use, liberal students say, is part of rooting out bigotry that might be more obvious to some people than to others. New, unofficial rules that might seem silly to baby boomers—like using the gender-neutral "Latinx" rather than Latina or Latino—are de rigueur among many high school students who get secondary educations on Tumblr. And those norms are seeping into workplaces filled with progressive 20-somethings. (Just ask the HR department at companies like Google.) While universities might have been home to protests over segregation and war in previous eras, liberal students say they are now united around pushes for inclusivity—and some are accusing schools of failing to meet the needs of the diverse student bodies that administrators routinely say they seek to have. Forty years ago, white individuals made up nearly 85% of college students. Now they make up about 58%.

Reuben Faloughi is a 26-year-old Ph.D. candidate and founding member of Concerned Student 1950, the group that held protests at the University of Missouri two years ago over the administration's handling of racial issues, leading the president and chancellor to resign. He says students are channeling social movements like Black Lives Matter and reacting to the daily decisions of the Trump Administration in an effort to confront discrimination. "Some of these campuses would rather have these neutral environments of learning. But nothing is neutral," Faloughi says. "You have students of color and other marginalized groups who are increasing their numbers on college campuses. And you have institutions who don't want to hear about [issues that affect

political correctness

The avoidance of forms of expression or action that are perceived to exclude, marginalize or insult groups of people who are socially disadvantaged or discriminated against.

privilege

A right or advantage available only to a particular person or group. The phrase *check your privilege* is used to suggest that someone (often a white person) should recognize that their attitudes reflect their inherently privileged position in society.

pronouns

A word that refers to the participants in a discourse (e.g., *I, you, she, they*). Expressing a "preferred pronoun" is often done with respect for the idea that one should not assume they know other's genders based on their name or appearance.

rape culture

A society or environment whose prevailing social attitudes have the effect of normalizing or trivializing sexual assault and abuse.

safe space

A place in which a person or category of people can feel confident that they will not be exposed to discrimination, criticism, harassment or other emotional or physical harm.

snowflake

A derogatory term for an overly sensitive or easily offended person, or one who believes they are entitled to special treatment on account of their supposedly unique characteristics.

trigger warning

A warning that the content of a text, video, etc., may upset or offend some people, especially those who have experienced a related trauma.

white nationalism

Advocacy of or support for the political interests of white people regarded as a nation, especially to the exclusion or detriment of others.

SOURCES: DICTIONARY.COM; MERRIAM-WEBSTER; OXFORD DICTIONARIES

those groups]. So this is what you get."

The Mizzou protests began after a swastika had been smeared in feces on a bathroom wall, one of 150 instances of that symbol showing up on campuses in the past year, according to one count. Images of college students in blackface went viral this year, as did nooses decorated with bananas and the letters of an African-American sorority. Nor do plugged-in millennials feel isolated from incidents happening in the nation's capital, whether Trump is calling divisive Confederate monuments "beautiful" or pushing for stricter immigration enforcement.

Imari Reynolds, a student at the University of California, Santa Cruz, says the political winds helped drive a three-day building takeover she organized with her peers last semester. "Our government is openly racist," says the 21-year-old. "That same thing has trickled down into our universities." She recalls finding graffiti on an African-American-themed dorm on campus that read, I'LL BE BACK. Among the demands the students issued during the sit-in was that minority students have a dedicated space to congregate and that the theme house be painted in pan-African colors. The school granted almost everything they asked for and absorbed plenty of criticism, some of which was "clearly racially motivated," a spokesperson says.

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, students from various groups—representing black students, LGBTQ individuals, women and others—banded together last year and issued a 19-page list of demands to the school, ranging from the installation of gender-inclusive restrooms and free tampons to a boost in hiring staff members of color and issuing trigger warnings in class. "It blows my mind that people can't recognize the power dynamics that exist today," says Trinity Goss, a recent graduate who led the school's Black Student Union.

In some battles, students stand shoulder to shoulder with faculty. "Republicans rule the country right now. A young black gay man does not. So if there's a little oasis that protects the young black gay man, I'm sympathetic to that," says john a. powell, a law professor at Berkeley (who does not capitalize his name in recognition of its being a slave name). "If you want people to engage in intellectual experimentation, you have to create a space where the cost is not too high."

Still, he says, there are times when young people miss the opportunity for compromise, as when Princeton University students demanded that Woodrow Wilson's name be removed from campus buildings because of his segregationist views. The answer, powell says, is to be open about the fact that the brilliant academic was also a racist. "Complicate it," he says. "You don't say, 'Let's tear it out.'" Ultimately that is the conclusion the school arrived at. On other campuses students have won fights to rename buildings that honored slave owners, and administrators have acted on their own to take down symbols that might undermine quests for diversity. In the wake of the protests over Confederate statues that broke out this summer, for example, three monuments were removed from the University of Texas at Austin before classes started. Such items "have become symbols of modern white supremacy and neo-Nazism," the university president said.

While conservatives may complain that their liberal peers are unwilling to engage, many on the left argue that some things are no longer open for discussion, that speech itself can be violence and that trying to question the equality of women or undocumented people or same-sex couples can amount to harassment. "Ignorance is hostility in this political climate," says Cornell student Treviño. "It's attacking our mental well-being."

Not everyone in activist communities agrees that refusing to debate is a good thing. As longtime gay-rights activist Cleve Jones puts it, "Some of the younger activists will say things to people they don't agree with like, 'It's not my job to educate you.' Well, it is your job."

In many ways the complaints boil down to feelings of exclusion. Many students say that practices they are pushing, like no longer making assumptions about other people's gender identities, are crucial steps for making sure everyone feels included at school. "The matter of preferred pronoun is pretty big. I get emails from students with the preferred pronoun in their signature line," says Amitava Kumar, a professor of English at Vassar College. "You are likely to think it's a bit much. But then you hear some of the old farts talking about it, and you start cheering for the students instead."

SOME AMOUNT OF EDUCATION should be discomforting and disagreeable. You need to know how bad food tastes in order to spit it out and explain to others why they might lower their forks. While administrators across the country echo the sentiment that a culture of consensus isn't a good one for young people who are supposed to learn about the world, some schools have gone further than others.

Last year the University of Chicago's dean of students sent a letter to incoming

'IGNORANCE IS HOSTILITY IN THIS POLITICAL CLIMATE ... IT'S ATTACKING OUR MENTAL WELL-BEING.'

SILVIA TREVIÑO, student at Cornell University

ELIJAH NOUVELAGE—GETTY IMAGES

The drama at Berkeley began when leftist protesters violently shut down a speech by Yiannopoulos at the campus in February

freshmen stating that the school does not support trigger warnings or the creation of "intellectual" safe spaces "where individuals can retreat from ideas or perspectives at odds with their own." While some cheered the letter as a boon for academic freedom, many criticized it as setting up a false dichotomy between such practices and open expression. This year the letter sent to incoming freshmen did not mention trigger warnings but did note that the school welcomes people with "extremely diverse perspectives."

Other campuses are trying different tacks. Michael Roth, president of Wesleyan University, has called for "affirmative action" when it comes to the study of conservative ideas, arguing that schools must approach that task as they have diversity in students by figuring out who is underrepresented and then finding them. The liberal bent of professors is an issue, he says: "Students are really good at figuring out what the professors want to hear and giving it to them." Teachers have hit the streets alongside their pupils, getting arrested in marches inspired by Trump's DACA decision and joining students at Georgetown—who put tape over their mouths to protest the Administration—when Sessions came to speak.

Roth also draws a line between inviting discourse from right-leaning academics and known provocateurs. "It becomes a test of free speech that's like your tolerance for idiots," he says. A prime example is former Breitbart editor Milo Yiannopoulos, who has said feminism is a "cancer" and rape culture is a "fantasy." His speeches have been canceled at universities because of safety concerns. At Berkeley, faculty and students called for the school to deny him a platform, saying his rhetoric incites harassment.

From California to North Carolina lawmakers have gotten involved, considering bills related to free speech at institutions of learning. In Louisiana, Governor John Bel Edwards vetoed a Republican-backed measure this summer that was aimed at protecting controversial speakers and penalizing students who disrupt them. In early October the board of regents for the University of Wisconsin system approved a similar measure, which would suspend students who repeatedly disrupt "the expressive rights of others."

One controversial practice has been the designation of "free-speech zones," areas designated for political outrage. Supporters say that confining protest helps ensure that campuses are not disrupted. Opponents say it's censorship. Many universities have also put in place bias-response teams, groups of school officials who can respond to complaints about offensive speech. Those have their critics too, with one free-speech organization claiming that such systems encourage people to report on one another.

Students have proved they are not shy about telling administrations when they think they are getting the balance wrong. And there are costs to a campus when disagreements lead to high-profile protests. Enrollment at the University of Missouri dropped 35% in the two years since disruptions caught the nation's attention. Early numbers indicate that enrollment is down at the Evergreen State College too. The reasons might reflect disgust with either side, with applicants being turned off by administrations that seem clueless or by students who seem unruly.

Nossel of PEN America, for one, believes that students are taking part in a grand renegotiation as Americans try to find common ground about what kinds of speech and actions are appropriate. Plenty of people are calling for sensitivity that is nuanced, not dogmatic. But nuance can be a hard sell in a moment when people feel threatened and menaced.

BACK AT CORNELL, a member of the frat wrote a note to the students who live next door saying the "chant" was just a joke. He apologized and stated that he is also Hispanic. The students who hold leadership positions in La Asociación Latina were not persuaded that it mattered. A few days later, a black student was allegedly assaulted and called the *N* word by members of another fraternity. After that, president Martha Pollack said she would convene a task force to address "persistent problems" of intolerance at the school.

She also implored students to greet speech and attitudes they don't like with more speech of their own. "Please speak out against injustice," she wrote. "Our community needs your help." —*With reporting by* CHARLOTTE ALTER, SARAH BEGLEY *and* KATIE REILLY/NEW YORK; *and* MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON ◻

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK HARTMAN FOR TIME

Education

A DEADLY CAMPUS TRADITION

Student hazing deaths have intensified calls for reform. What will it take to change fraternity culture?

By KATIE REILLY

TIM PIAZZA SPENT THE EARLY-MORNING HOURS OF FEB. 3 CURLED up in pain, clutching his head and trying to stand. A Beta Theta Pi pledge at Penn State University, he had been forced to drink a toxic amount of alcohol in an alleged hazing ritual known as "the gauntlet," according to a grand jury report. He then tumbled headfirst down a flight of stairs. Members of the fraternity carried his limp body to a couch, where they poured liquid on his face and slapped him in apparent attempts to wake him up. Security-camera footage later showed Piazza repeatedly falling and hitting his head, and then lying on the ground alone, holding his stomach. By the time fraternity members finally sought medical aid, according to the Centre County, Pennsylvania, grand jury findings, Piazza had suffered traumatic injuries to his brain and spleen. He died the next morning in an intensive-care unit. He was 19.

A year and a half earlier, the New Jersey teenager had followed his older brother to Penn State, where he began studying to become an engineer. He was known to his friends as a "big goofy kid" who always looked out for others. When he decided to join Beta Theta Pi—whose stated mission is "to develop men of principle for a principled life"—in the winter of his sophomore year, he was searching for community on a campus with more than 40,000 students. "He was looking for that brotherhood and just another place that he belonged here. It is a big place, and finding your group is tough sometimes," says Bennet Brooks, one of Piazza's sophomore-year roommates. "That was where he thought he was going to find it."

Instead, Piazza became the latest casualty in a disturbingly persistent pattern of fraternity misconduct that has resulted in grievous injuries, numerous lawsuits and dozens of fatalities. Nineteen-year-old pledge Tucker Hipps died in 2014 after falling from a bridge during a predawn run with Clemson University's Sigma Phi Epsilon fraternity, according to a wrongful-death lawsuit filed by his parents, who say he was a victim

Evelyn and Jim Piazza with a photo of their son Tim, who died in February after a fraternity hazing ritual at Penn State University

Centre County District Attorney Stacy Parks Miller, left, stands with Tim Piazza's parents on May 5 to announce the results of an investigation into his death

The Beta Theta Pi house at Penn State, center, pictured on April 4

of hazing, an allegation the fraternity denied before settling the lawsuit this year. Eighteen-year-old Ryan Abele died in 2016 after falling down a flight of stairs when he was ordered to clean the basement of the Sigma Nu fraternity house at the University of Nevada, Reno, while "highly intoxicated," according to a lawsuit filed by his parents; the national fraternity later revoked the chapter's charter for alcohol and hazing violations. And in mid-September, Maxwell Gruver, an 18-year-old Phi Delta Theta pledge, died in what police are investigating as a possible fraternity hazing incident at Louisiana State University.

Hank Nuwer, a professor of journalism at Franklin College who has researched and written extensively about hazing, has documented 33 hazing deaths involving fraternities nationwide in the past decade. The federal government does not track hazing incidents, but Nuwer, a member of HazingPrevention.Org's founding board of directors, is often cited by hazing experts. In the wake of each death, a familiar pattern repeats: the victim's parents express outrage, students mourn at a candlelight vigil and university leaders promise reforms—but too often, critics say, little changes.

"[Students are] still dying and still getting sexually assaulted and still getting traumatically injured—and for reasons the fraternity industry could control but chooses not to," says Doug Fierberg, a lawyer who has represented dozens of families in wrongful death and injury lawsuits against fraternities.

To critics, the string of recent deaths raises the question of why it's so hard to reform Greek life in a way that ensures student safety. The answer begins with deep-pocketed fraternity alumni who fondly remember the traditions of their fraternity days and now hold sway over their alma maters. In addition, fraternities owe their staying power to influential national Greek organizations that lobby for lenient policies and to fraternity members who are devoted to what has become a staple of the American college experience. Greek life also has deep roots in powerful institutions: at least four members of President Trump's Cabinet are fraternity alumni, and Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch was a member of Phi Gamma Delta. In Congress, 155 lawmakers are Greek alumni, according to the Fraternity and Sorority Political Action Committee. Additionally, a majority of *Fortune* 500 executives were members of fraternities, according to data cited in Alan DeSantis' 2007 book *Inside Greek U: Fraternities, Sororities and the Pursuit of Pleasure, Power, and Prestige.*

Even after the tragedy of a student death, universities often defend the fraternity system as a whole. "I can't imagine a fraternity-free Penn State," Damon Sims, the school's vice president for student affairs, told the student newspaper, the *Daily Collegian,* months after Piazza's death as Penn State rolled out controversial sanctions on the Greek system. "The fraternity and sorority system is very important to us. It's very important to this university. It's long-standing, has a very positive history. It's done a lot of good things for individuals and for the community, so all this talk about a fraternity- and sorority-free Penn State is really not [a] conversation that I've been engaged in, and I'd rather others not engage in it."

Undergraduate fraternity membership reached at least 385,000 students in the U.S. and Canada during the 2015–16 academic year, according to the North-American Interfraternity Conference (NIC), which represents 66 fraternities and is the U.S.'s largest fraternity umbrella group. The group saw a 50% increase in membership during the past decade.

"It's not just some kids who want to throw parties, and that's the art of what's so appealing to young men about fraternities," says Lisa Wade, an associate professor of sociology at Occidental College. "It is about power. And they have been very successful at consolidating power all across the country."

73%

Percentage of fraternity or sorority members who have experienced hazing, according to a 2008 study

33

Number of hazing deaths involving fraternities across the country in the past decade, according to Franklin College professor Hank Nuwer

THE EARLIEST FRATERNITIES were founded in the 1800s by young men rebelling against the disciplined schedules and religious strictures of their schools. Modeled after literary societies, the first fraternities hosted debates and required members to write essays, while also providing a social venue to drink and smoke. College presidents largely opposed the exclusive new organizations, but fraternities soon became an inextricable part of campus life. By the mid-1900s, when more women were admitted to

PODIUM, HOUSE: ABBY DREY—CENTRE DAILY TIMES/AP (2); YOUNG: DAN GLEITER—PENNLIVE.COM/AP

previously all-male colleges, Wade says, fraternities began controlling social life as well.

While fraternity membership declined in the middle of the 20th century around the Vietnam War, it spiked again in the 1980s, thanks in part to a law that set the national drinking age at 21, making it harder for underage students to get alcohol outside of the Greek scene. Students have since been drawn to the promise of lifelong friendships and the best parties on campus.

Some fraternities, though, have perpetuated behavior that ranges from risky to criminal. Binge drinking has long been an issue on campuses, but a 2007 study by researchers at the University of Rhode Island found that fraternity members are more likely to drink heavily and have problems with alcohol use than their non-fraternity peers. And 73% of fraternity or sorority members have experienced hazing, according to a 2008 national study by researchers at the University of Maine. Fraternity members have been forced to chug hard alcohol, endure sleep deprivation and complete physical challenges while blindfolded, according to police reports and court documents. Hazing bans are now ubiquitous, but some fear they've done little more than hide these rituals from public view. An unintended consequence is that students who know they are breaking university rules may be less likely to go to authorities when things get out of control.

Fraternity defenders argue that most chapters foster brotherhood, build leadership skills and promote philanthropy. Penn State fraternity members volunteered 65,000 hours and raised nearly $1.4 million for charity in 2016, according to the Penn State Interfraternity Council. Nationally, fraternity undergraduates volunteered 3.8 million hours and raised $20.3 million for philanthropy in the 2013–14 academic year, the most recent year with numbers available, according to the NIC.

Judson Horras, president and CEO of the NIC, says his fraternity gave him structure and a sense of belonging at Iowa State. "My growth and development—short of my family and probably church—I relate back to my journey, both positive and negative, of being a fraternity man," he says.

Brendan Young, the former president of the shuttered Penn State chapter of Beta Theta Pi, arrives on July 11 for a hearing on charges related to Piazza's death

155

Number of members of Congress who are fraternity or sorority alumni, according to the Fraternity and Sorority Political Action Committee

385,000

Number of undergraduate members in the 66 fraternities belonging to the North-American Interfraternity Conference during the 2015–16 academic year

"How much it means to me—it's overwhelming, and it's a brotherhood feeling that I really appreciate."

Josh Szabo, president of the Beta Theta Pi chapter at the University of South Carolina, believes critics often exaggerate the dangers of fraternities by focusing on what he sees as a few bad apples.

"I do not ever see a point where fraternities would do so much wrong that it would outweigh all the good that they do," says Szabo. "That would be akin to saying that the government does so much wrong that we should no longer have a government."

THE PIAZZAS' NEW JERSEY HOME is filled with photos of Tim—posing in his football uniform, swinging a baseball bat, dressing up for a school dance, laughing with his older brother. His mother Evelyn often picks up and hugs the things that belonged to him. "It makes me feel like he's here," she says. His father Jim finds it too painful and avoids his son's bedroom altogether.

They describe Tim as hotheaded and funny, kind-hearted and smart. He was an accomplished high school athlete, and when he arrived at college he got involved with the Penn State Dance Marathon, which raises money to fight childhood cancer.

Tim didn't talk much with his parents about his plans to join a fraternity, and he never mentioned concerns about hazing. "He played the whole fraternity thing fairly low-key with us," Jim says. "He just said he was interested in doing it, but he knew my view was that he didn't need to pledge a fraternity."

In the eight months since their son's death, the Piazzas have become vocal opponents of dangerous Greek life. But they're frustrated that their advocacy hasn't prevented teenagers from dying. When Jim heard about Gruver's death at LSU, "my stomach went up in my throat," he says. "I couldn't believe it."

The Piazzas want Penn State to quickly implement policies enforcing strong consequences for fraternity misbehavior, and they want those who played a role in their son's death to be held accountable. But so far they've been disappointed. Centre County District Attorney Stacy Parks Miller initially brought charges—ranging from furnishing alcohol to minors to involuntary manslaughter and aggravated assault—against

18 members of Beta Theta Pi, whose chapter has been permanently banned at Penn State. But a judge reduced the most severe charges and dropped charges entirely in some cases after defense attorneys argued at a hearing that Piazza's death was a tragic accident. Now 14 members are set to stand trial in a few months for lesser charges that include hazing and reckless endangerment.

Parks Miller says she hopes the case pushes universities to change how they respond to problems at fraternities. "Clearly something is seriously broken, and clearly change needs to be made that's significant," she says. "No more lip service that, you know, 'We're going to take this seriously, we're going to make changes, we're going to look out for these students, we're going to take hazing seriously.' That has not happened."

Penn State announced reforms after Tim's death—including an end to the system of Greek self-governance and a zero-tolerance hazing policy that permanently bans any chapter in violation—but the Piazzas believe the measures lack strength and immediacy. They also want the university to take more innovative steps, including providing students with a way to anonymously report hazing in real time.

Fierberg, the lawyer and fraternity critic, who is not involved in the Piazza case, believes Penn State is seeking to defuse the situation without alienating influential and wealthy fraternity alumni. At least 14 members of the Penn State Board of Trustees—the body that approved the reforms—were members of fraternities or sororities in college, the Philadelphia *Inquirer* reported.

"There is no way that an intelligent, well-meaning president of a university such as Penn State could have come up with these less-than-significant proposals without having an eye toward the power, wealth and influence that represents the Greek industry," Fierberg says. "That influence and power has been used over decades to prevent meaningful reforms."

Penn State officials declined to be interviewed for this story, but in an emailed statement university president Eric Barron called the reforms "aggressive measures" and said that "significant progress has been made" in promoting student safety.

UNIVERSITY LEADERS DESCRIBE the challenge of reforming fraternity culture as a balancing act. Some schools have taken steps to limit alcohol at parties, push back recruitment schedules and mandate anti-hazing workshops, and national fraternity organizations have rolled out required trainings and safety programs. But tragedies have continued to occur with alarming regularity.

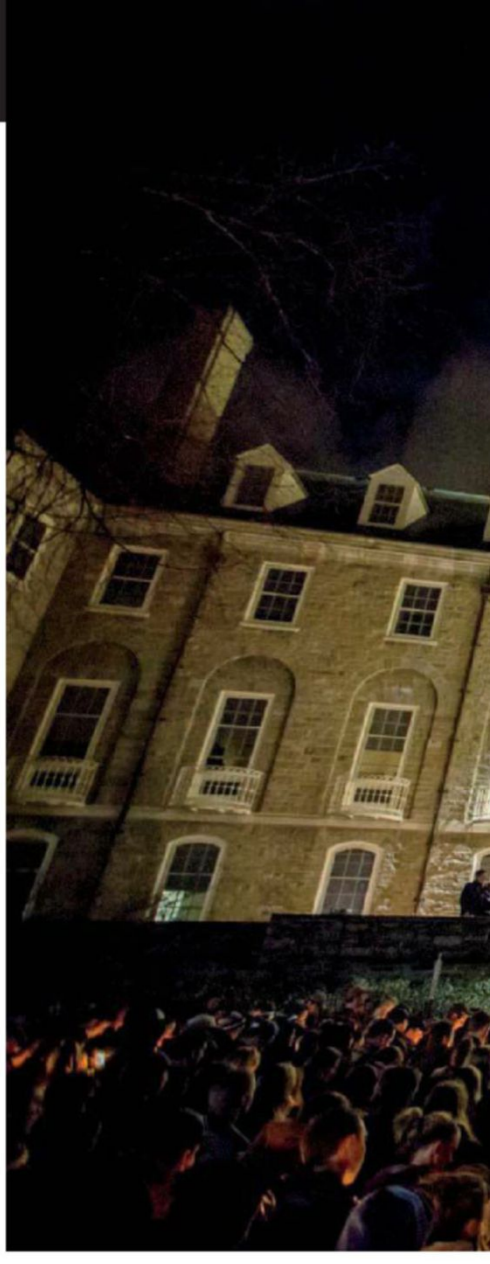
West Virginia University President Gordon Gee acknowledges that fraternities can be problematic. He temporarily suspended all Greek life at the school in 2014, when 18-year-old Nolan Burch died after an initiation event while pledging Kappa Sigma, according to police. But Gee recalls his own fraternity experience in Pi Kappa Alpha at the University of Utah as a "very constructive and positive opportunity" and says fraternities deserve a place on campus.

"The question ultimately is maybe this: Should you ban fraternities and sororities, or should you come up with a model that allows them to flourish—but in a very constructive way?" Gee says. "I prefer the latter, because I think that is more healthy for both universities and for students."

University of South Carolina President Harris Pastides thinks alumni, who regale younger generations with their college stories and often contribute financially to schools, need to be part of the effort to stop recurring misconduct. He received pushback from both alumni and current students after saying in 2016 that he would consider ending pledging following a student death, though he ultimately decided not to do so.

"I hope you don't think it's easy, even for me as president, to be receiving calls and visits from chapter alumni and, in some cases, donors and great friends of the university, who think we've taken too hard a stand," Pastides says.

Even when those within the fraternity community advocate for reforms, they often face strong opposition. Dave Westol, a consultant who advises fraternities on topics like combating hazing, says he has drawn ire from those who think he's "sharing too many secrets" about his experience decades ago in a Michigan State fraternity. When, as the national executive director of Theta Chi, Westol shortened the fraternity's pledging period in an effort to stop hazing, he says, he began receiving an annual birthday card from an older alumnus who said his birth date would "live in infamy because you are the person who is destroying the fabric of our fraternity."



'CLEARLY SOMETHING IS SERIOUSLY BROKEN, AND CLEARLY CHANGE NEEDS TO BE MADE THAT'S SIGNIFICANT.'

STACY PARKS MILLER, Centre County district attorney

ALEX YUAN—THE DAILY COLLEGIAN

Students at Penn State gather for a candlelight vigil on Feb. 12, following Piazza's death

University administrators and national fraternity leaders admit that reforms will work only if fraternity members follow them. Sigma Alpha Epsilon and Sigma Phi Epsilon both ended pledging in an effort to reduce hazing, but several chapters have since been investigated for hazing violations. The Beta Theta Pi house where Piazza pledged and the Phi Delta Theta house where Gruver pledged were both supposed to be alcohol-free.

In the rare instance when a chapter is banned for good, it can still re-emerge underground. In August, American University in Washington, D.C., expelled 18 students for their involvement in recent hazing incidents, violence and underage drinking as part of an unauthorized fraternity. In September, at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., a white student allegedly affiliated with the Psi Upsilon fraternity—which lost its recognition in 2016 for repeated conduct violations—was accused of assaulting a black student and using racial slurs, according to police. The fraternity says no official member was involved.

In the face of these challenges, critics say the reforms many universities have adopted are too incremental to ensure the safety of the hundreds of thousands of students who participate in Greek life. Without major changes in how fraternities operate, they say, it's only a matter of time before another student dies at another university.

Even after Penn State implemented stricter alcohol policies following Piazza's death, an 18-year-old student was found unconscious and hospitalized in September after allegedly drinking at Delta Tau Delta. The fraternity, which under the university's new rules was prohibited from serving alcohol at social events until November, has been suspended while the case is investigated.

Such incidents are troubling to those who are still mourning Piazza. Brooks, his former roommate, worries about what will happen as more time passes and the urgency behind hazing reform fades.

"Around the country, people are going to see that there's literal video evidence of hazing happening and still no one got in any real trouble," Brooks says. "In a few years, people are just going to revert back to the way it was before." □

WORLD

Crisis in Catalonia

The region runs up against the reality of a split from Spain

By Lisa Abend

Spanish police push pro-referendum supporters outside a school assigned as a polling station in Barcelona on Oct. 1

PHOTOGRAPH BY EMILIO MORENATTI

IN THE HOURS BEFORE THE PRESIDENT OF Catalonia took the podium, the rumors were coming thick and fast. No one seemed sure if Carles Puigdemont would declare independence unilaterally for the region of Spain he leads, or if he would sue for negotiations with the Madrid government of Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy. Yet when the president at last spoke on Oct. 10, he tried to split the difference. "The people had determined that Catalonia should become an independent state," he said, before asking parliament to "suspend the effects of the independence declaration for the coming weeks while we embark on a dialogue."

The statement neatly represents the bind in which Catalonia finds itself after the Oct. 1 independence referendum, deemed illegal by Spain. By combining two seemingly incompatible ideas like unstable atoms in a molecule, Puigdemont may have created a framework that will prove radioactive: for Catalonia, Spain and even Europe as a whole. Yet it was the only real choice he could make.

This corner of Spain is now in uncharted territory. First came a general strike by referendum supporters outraged by heavy-handed attempts by the police to halt the vote. That was followed by huge protests from a so-called silent majority that favors remaining in Spain. For days it has seemed as if the country was hurtling toward the brink.

If so, it's a precipice the two sides have constructed together. After winning a majority in the Catalan parliament, pro-independence parties defied the central government and called the referendum. The world sided with Spain, until its government began arresting local politicians and confiscating ballots. When the referendum took place, independence won 89% of the vote, though with only a 43% turnout and marred by voting irregularities.

Now, Puigdemont faces a dilemma. He knows Catalonia needs international support to maintain its bid for independence. And the violent images that circulated around the globe after the vote provoked sympathy for his cause. But the *independentistas* can't always count on police violence to make their case for them. So Puigdemont chose to present his side as open to dialogue. We're the reasonable ones here, he seemed to be saying, and we trust the democratic process.

SPAIN, HOWEVER, has rejected this gambit. Rajoy has promised he will not negotiate unless the Catalans first renounce their declaration of independence. "The Catalans are suggesting a mediation that would bring the two sides to the table as legitimate equals," says José Ignacio Torreblanca, opinion editor of Spain's largest newspaper, *El País*. "But [Spain] can't do that, first because one side is breaking the law, and then because equal standing is exactly what Catalonia wants."

Instead, Rajoy intends to stand in the way of Catalan secession, at all costs. He is now set to invoke a never-before-used constitutional provision, Article 155, to reinstate home rule over the region. What this means no one knows for sure, says Joan Vintró Castells, professor of constitutional law at the University of Barcelona. "[Article] 155 is not specific," he explains. "All it says is 'the State will adopt the necessary measures.'" These might mean anything from taking over public administrations to sending in the military.

But Rajoy may pause before repeating the kind of tactics that strengthened the *independentistas*. And given the divisions within that movement, he may yet stay his hand. "Ultimately nationalism has to break by its own internal forces, rather than a push from outside," Torreblanca says. "We have a saying in Spanish: let it cook in its own sauce."

But who, exactly, is the one getting cooked? This crisis is driven not just by a desire for independence by a region with its own language, identity and history of chafing at Spanish dominance that dates back centuries. There's also frustration with a sclerotic central government riddled with corruption and hampered by its inability to respond to the demands of a changing society.

Puigdemont's gamble has bought some time, but nothing is resolved. On Oct. 11, Rajoy upped the ante by taking the first step in activating Article 155 and asking the Catalan government if it has made a declaration of independence. It was, he said, an attempt to achieve clarity.

But if there's one thing this crisis has made plain, it's that things can change fast. That was obvious to the 30,000 *independentistas* who gathered on a boulevard just north of the Catalan parliament to watch Puigdemont's speech on a big screen and who ended up booing the man whom, moments before, they had cheered. ◻

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

The so-called silent majority rallies in opposition to independence from Spain in Barcelona on Oct. 8

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF J MITCHELL—GETTY IMAGES

A supporter of independence drives a tractor near Barcelona's Arc de Triomf after Puigdemont's remarks on Oct. 10

PHOTOGRAPH BY SANTI PALACIOS FOR TIME

Members of Google's personality team are trying to make its digital helper, Assistant, sound more like a person

Technology

GOOGLE SEARCHES

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CODY PICKENS FOR TIME

FOR ITS VOICE

Meet the team trying to give Google's artificial intelligence something it's never had before: a personality

BY LISA EADICICCO/ MOUNTAIN VIEW, CALIF.

Deep inside the Googleplex, a small group of writers is huddling around a whiteboard that is plastered with ideas. These read like notes-to-self that Jack Skellington might've made: "Halloween survival kit," "How to defeat monsters." One in particular stands out to Ryan Germick, a tall and wiry 37-year-old. "People did not like 'smell my feet' last year," he says, laughing. His colleague Emma Coats chimes in to explain:

"It was trick or treat, and one response was 'smell my feet.' People thumbed-down the heck out of that."

Germick has spent the afternoon bouncing between brainstorming meetings like this one, in which Googlers debate life's big questions, like whether the sound of a bubbling cauldron or distant howling is spookier. All of which is part of his job as principal personality designer for Google Assistant, the company's voice-activated helper found on a wide range of smartphones and its Home smart speaker, which first went on sale last fall.

It's August, but Germick's team is grappling with what users might ask Google on Halloween and why. Will people turn to Assistant for costume ideas? Or will they want to hear a seasonally appropriate joke? The key to answering these kinds of questions, Assistant's creators maintain, is not to think of Google as most of us have come to—a dispassionate dispenser of information—but as a dynamic character. "At the very simplest level," says Lilian Rincon, director of product management for Assistant, "it's, Can I just talk to Google like I'm talking to you right now?"

This is harder than it sounds. And over the past few years, developing voice-enabled gadgets has become one of Silicon Valley's most hotly contested technology races. Assistant is available on phones from the likes of Samsung and LG that run the Android operating system. Amazon offers its take, Alexa, on its popular Echo speakers. Apple has built Siri into a plethora of iDevices. And Microsoft is putting its Cortana helper in everything from laptops to thermostats.

With so many companies rushing to make such a wide variety of devices capable of listening and talking to us, it's hard to quantify how quickly the technology will become mainstream. But this year, 60.5 million Americans will use Alexa, Assistant or another virtual butler at least once a month, according to research firm eMarketer. Sales of smart speakers alone will reach $3.52 billion globally by 2021, up nearly 400% from 2016, predict analysts at Gartner. Many technology experts are convinced that voice is the next major shift in how humans use machines. This will be "a completely different level of interaction," says Oren Etzioni, CEO of the Allen Institute for Artificial Intelligence, a research outfit in Seattle. "This really becomes a game changer when you can have a dialogue with a virtual assistant that may be at the level of a concierge at a hotel."

But barking orders at a computer is not the same thing as having a conversation—which puts Google in an unusual position. The firm became one of the most valuable companies in the world by building technology capable of doing what no human conceivably could: indexing vast troves of online information. Now it's future may hinge on teaching machines to perform a task that comes naturally to most people, but has proved to be profoundly difficult for computers: small talk. To do so, the company has turned to a team of left-brained creative types that Google isn't exactly known for hiring: fiction writers, filmmakers, video-game designers, empathy experts and comedians. If they succeed, they'll give Google something it's never had before: a personality.

DIGITAL ASSISTANTS are nothing new. In 1952, Bell Labs' Audrey computer was capable of recognizing spoken numeric digits, but it consumed huge amounts of power and couldn't understand voices it wasn't trained to. In 1990, Dragon Systems unveiled Dictate, software that had a vocabulary of 30,000 terms but required the speaker to pause awkwardly between each word. And in 1997 the field got its poster child for what can go wrong. That year Microsoft introduced Clippy, a cartoon paper clip intended to anticipate Office users' needs and answer questions. But in practice, Clippy was a worse bumbler than C-3PO, popping up inconveniently more than it ever helped. (It didn't talk, thank God.) The feature became a punch line and was retired ignominiously in 2007.

It wasn't until six years ago that the noble idea behind Clippy—predicting what information you might need next, offering the right tips at the right moment, this time packaged in a friendly voice—came to fruition in Apple's Siri. She could understand questions in context and apply a level of intelligence before answering out loud. Plus, she was funny. Before long, every one of Apple's competitors was working on similar technology.

This hit-or-miss history isn't lost on the Googlers now working on Assistant. Germick, who has dressed up as Clippy for Halloween, argues that future assistants have to be more than just question-and-answer machines. After all, Google search already does that pretty well. "We want you to be able to connect with this character," he says. "Part of that is acknowledging the human experience and human needs. Not just information, but also how we relate to people."

Making that character seem plausible falls to Google's personality team, which has been working on turning Assistant into a digital helper that seems human without pretending to be one. (That's part of the reason, by the way, that Google's version doesn't have a human-ish name like Siri or Alexa.) Coats, whose title is character lead for personality, draws on years of experience developing fictional characters. She spent five years at Pixar Animation Studios working on films such as *Monsters University, Brave* and *Inside Out*. "It takes a lot of thinking about what are the other tools besides facial expressions that can be used to make emotional connections," she says.

CODY PICKENS FOR TIME

BRAINSTORMS
Google's personality team draws on a broad range of sources to hone the character of the company's voice-enabled Assistant. Writers use notes and doodles to track potential ideas that eventually show up in products like this white-and-brass-colored Google Home, top center, and the Pixel smartphone, bottom right.

Coats tells me about the questions Googlers consider when crafting a response that's lively but not misleading. Among them: What does the user hope to get out of the interaction? How can Google put a positive spin on the answer? How can it keep the conversation going? Then Coats gives me a specific example: When asking Assistant if it's afraid of the dark, it won't respond with an answer that suggests it feels fear. Instead it says, "I like the dark because that's when stars come out. Without the stars we wouldn't be able to learn about planets and constellations." Explains Coats: "This is a service from Google. We want to be as conversational as possible without pretending to be anything we're not."

This often involves analyzing the subtext of why someone may have asked a particular question in the first place. When asked "Will you marry me?"—a request Google says it's seen tens of thousands of times—Assistant doesn't give a straight answer, but deflects that it's flattered its owner is looking for more commitment.

Questions like this can be banal or emanate from complex emotions. While it's unlikely anyone presenting Assistant with a marriage proposal expects a serious answer, the company is trying to systematically understand how various emotional states differ from one another. Danielle Krettek's job at Google as an empathic designer is to help the creative writers do that. It's easiest to think of Krettek's role as a sort of emotional interpreter. Not long after sitting down with her, I understand why: she's bubbly and animated, with facial expressions that telegraph exactly how she's feeling at any given moment. "There are things that people feel and say, and there are the things they don't say," she tells me. "My ability to read that is what I bring to the team."

Krettek talks her colleagues through

the ways in which people experience emotions differently, particularly feelings that are similar and may be easily confused. She might delve into how disappointment is distinct from being angry. Or, say, why feeling mellow isn't the same as satiation. This is supposed to help the writers come up with responses that provide a sense of empathy. Take Assistant's answer to the phrase *I'm stressed out.* It replies, "You must have a ton on your mind. How can I help?" Says Krettek: "That acknowledgment makes people feel seen and heard. It's the equivalent of eye contact."

GOOGLE'S PERSONALITY architects sometimes draw inspiration from unexpected places. Improv, both Coats and Germick tell me, has been one of the most important ones. That's because the dialogue in improv comedy is meant to facilitate conversation by building on previous lines in a way that encourages participants to keep engaging with one another—a principle known as "yes and." Germick says almost everyone working on personality at Google has done improv at some point.

You'll get an example of the "yes and" principle at work if you ask Assistant about its favorite flavor of ice cream. "We wouldn't say, 'I do not eat ice cream, I do not have a body,'" explains Germick. "We also wouldn't say, 'I love chocolate ice cream and I eat it every Tuesday with my sister,' because that also is not true." In these situations, the writers look for general answers that invite the user to continue talking. Google responds to the ice cream question, for instance, by saying something like, "You can't go wrong with Neapolitan, there's something for everyone."

But taking the conversation further is still considerably difficult for Assistant. Ask it about a specific flavor within Neapolitan, like vanilla or strawberry, and it gets stumped. Google's digital helper also struggles with some of the basic fundamentals of conversation, such an interpreting certain requests that are phrased differently from the questions it's programmed to understand. And the tools Google can use to understand what a user wants or how he or she may feel are limited. It can't tell, for instance, whether a person is annoyed, excited or tired depending on the tone of their voice. And it certainly can't notice when facial expressions change.

The best characteristics Google currently has to work with are a user's history. By looking at what a person has previously asked and the features he or she uses most, it can try to avoid sounding repetitive. In the future, Google hopes to make broader observations about a user's preferences based on how they interact with Assistant. "We're not totally there yet," says Germick. "But we'd be able to start to understand, is this a user that likes to joke around more, or is this a user that's more about business? The holy grail to me is that we can really understand human language to a point where almost anything I can say will be understood," he says. "Even if there's an emotional subtext or some sort of idiom."

When that will be exactly is unclear. Ask most people working on voice in Silicon Valley, including those at Google, and they will respond with some version of the same pat phrase: "It's early days," which roughly translates to "Nobody really knows."

In the meantime, Google is focusing on the nuances of speech. When Assistant tells you about the weather, it may emphasize words like *mostly.* Or perhaps you've noticed the way its voice sounds slightly higher when it says "no" at the start of a sentence. Those seemingly minor inflections are intentional, and they're probably James Giangola's doing. As Google's conversation and persona design lead, he's an expert in linguistics and prosody, a field that examines the patterns of stress and intonation in language.

Of all the people I meet on Google's personality team, Giangola is the most engineer-like. He comes to our meeting prepared with notes and talking points that he half-reads to me from behind his laptop. He's all business but also thrilled to tell me about why voice interaction is so important for technology companies to get right. "The stakes are really high for voice user interfaces, because voice is such a personal marker of social identity," he says. Like many other Assistant team members I spoke with, Giangola often abbreviates the term *voice user interface* as VUI, pronounced "vooey," in conversation. "Helen Keller said blindness separates people from things, and deafness separates people from people,"

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SPEECH RECOGNITION

1952

BELL LABS **AUDREY**

One of the first serious attempts to enable machines to recognize speech, Audrey could recognize spoken numeric digits

1962

IBM **SHOEBOX**

Demonstrated at the World's Fair in Seattle, it could recognize and respond to 16 spoken words

1970S

CMU **HARPY**

Developed at Carnegie Mellon University as part of a five-year DARPA program, it could understand complete sentences and had a 1,011-word vocabulary

1980S

IBM **TANGORA**

This typewriter could identify spoken words and type them on paper. By the mid-1980s, it had a vocabulary of 20,000 words

1997

Dragon **NATURALLYSPEAKING**

The first software product to recognize continuous speech—at a rate of about 100 words per minute

2011

APPLE **SIRI**

Launched alongside the iPhone 4S, Siri finally proved that voice could be useful

AUDREY: NOKIA BELL LABS; SIRI: PAUL SAKUMA—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

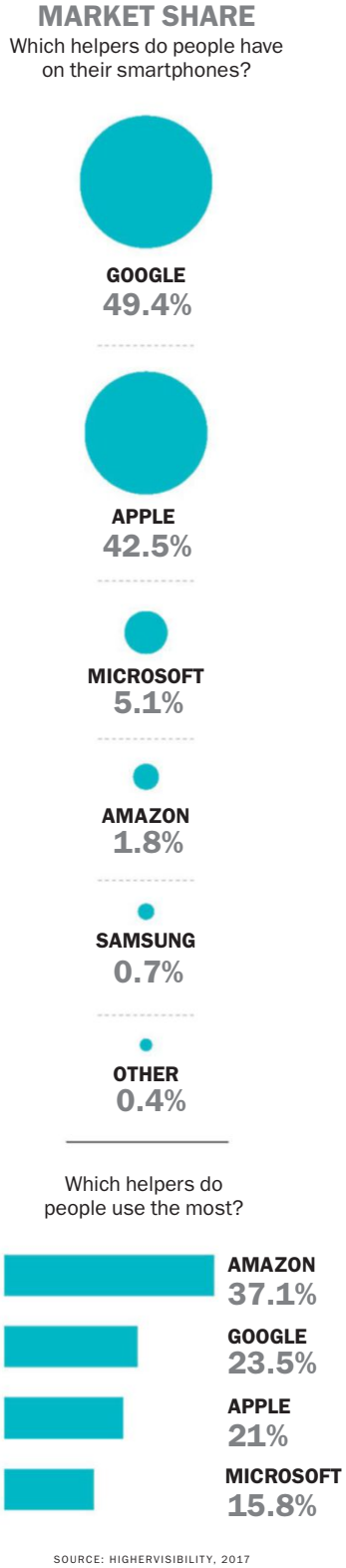
he says. "Voice is your place in society."

His job also entails casting and coaching the actor Google hired to play Assistant's voice. Before working at Google, Giangola produced and directed the original version of Siri. He plays me a clip of one studio session in which he worked with the voice actor behind Assistant to get her into character. (Google declined to reveal her identity.) In this particular scenario, Giangola played the role of a manager asking Google how a recent interview with a potential hire went, a task Assistant can't currently help with but might someday.

The actor playing Assistant replies in what seems like a characteristically Google way: "Well, he was on time, and he was wearing a beautiful tie." Factual and upbeat, if a little odd. Her voice is nearly impossible to distinguish from that of the inanimate butler she's portraying, except for a subtle break as she says the word *tie,* which reminds me she's human. Which also reminds me that even a voice that sounds genuine isn't all that useful if its speaker doesn't understand the intricacies of spoken language. Tell Assistant "I'm lonely" and it will recite an elaborately crafted and empathic response that Krettek and others helped create. But tell it "I feel like no one likes me" and it responds that it does not understand.

THERE ARE MORE prosaic problems for Google and its competitors than decoding the fundamentals of speech. Engaging users in the first place is a big one. Google doesn't typically make its usage statistics public, but according to a study last year by researcher Creative Strategies, people said they used voice features only rarely or sometimes: 70% for Siri and 62% for Google.

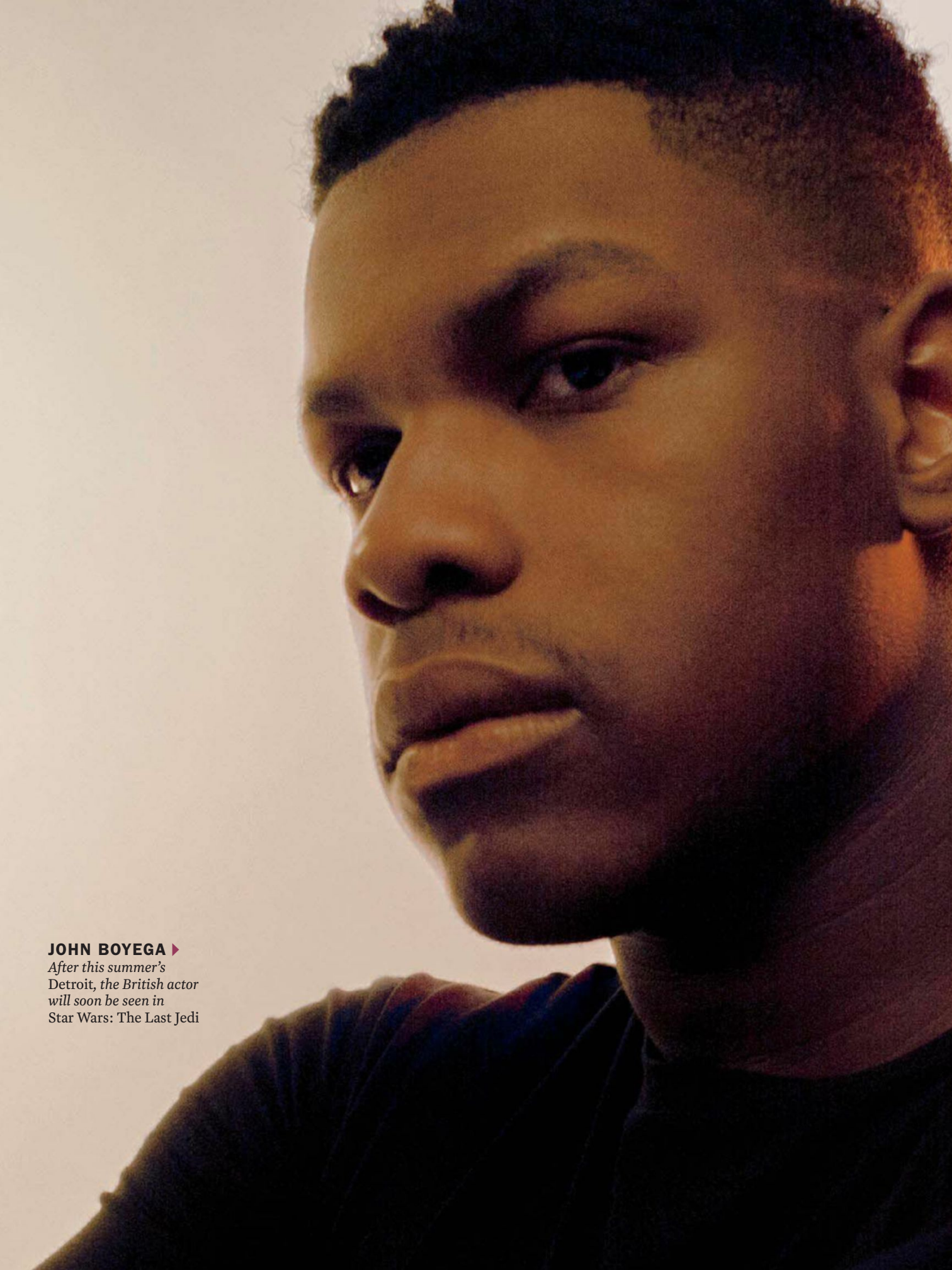
Privacy is another growing concern. Earlier this year, for example, ambient recordings from an Amazon Echo were submitted as evidence in an Arkansas murder trial, the first time data recorded by an artificial-intelligence-powered gadget was used in a U.S. courtroom. Devices like Echo and Google's Home are always listening but don't send information to their hosts unless specifically prompted—or in Assistant's case, when someone says, 'O.K., Google.' But given that firms such as Amazon and Google profit from knowing as much about you as possible, the idea of placing Internet-connected microphones around the house is disquieting to many. Google says it clearly lays out what kind of data its gadgets collect on its website and points to the light on top of its Home speaker that glows to indicate when it's actively listening.



And then there's the difficulty of the underlying problem. Computers are still far from being able to detect the cues that make it possible to understand how a person may be feeling when making a request or asking a question. To do so, Assistant would need to learn from a huge amount of data that depicts the user's voice in various emotional states. "Training data usually includes normal speech in relatively quiet settings," says Jaime Carbonell, director of the Language Technologies Institute at Carnegie Mellon University's School of Computer Science. "You don't typically get people in highly stressful situations to provide data. It's very difficult to collect data under all of these conditions."

Getting more devices into more homes would help. On Oct. 4, in a splashy presentation, Google announced two new Home speakers, including a smaller, less expensive version and a higher-end device. But Amazon is still far ahead. The company's Echo speaker will capture 70.6% of the voice-enabled speaker market in 2017, while Google will account for only 23.8%, according to eMarketer projections.

Germick doesn't seem daunted, though. And he isn't shy about Assistant's shortcomings. When I ask him which artificial intelligence from science fiction he hopes Assistant evolves into, he doesn't choose one of the super-advanced, all-knowing varieties like Jarvis in the *Iron Man* films or Samantha from the 2013 movie *Her.* He says he hopes to make Assistant like the perennially cheery character played by Ellie Kemper on Netflix's *Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt.* Despite having been held captive underground for 15 years and being systematically bamboozled, Kemper plays Kimmy as almost unnervingly able to find the bright side. "We talk a lot about her relentless optimism," Germick says. "Just like she came out of the vault, we don't always understand context, but we try to stay positive." That's the thing about personality: quirks can be part of the charm. ◻



JOHN BOYEGA
After this summer's Detroit, *the British actor will soon be seen in* Star Wars: The Last Jedi

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS

Ten trailblazers who are breaking molds, taking risks and using their positions of influence to create change

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICAIAH CARTER FOR TIME

U.K.

John Boyega

FROM *DETROIT* TO *STAR WARS,* HE'S BECOME A SUPERSTAR OF HIS OWN MAKING

By Eliana Dockterman

In person, John Boyega carries himself with an assuredness that could be mistaken for self-importance. He's one of those actors who look as tall and sturdy in real life as they do onscreen. He fills whatever room he happens to be in with inviting, boisterous chatter, thanks, no doubt, to years of voice training on the English stage. And he's dead certain he's going to be a big, big movie star.

I first meet Boyega in a cramped hallway at ABC Studios in Manhattan in July. We barely manage a hurried handshake as he proceeds in Aaron Sorkin–like strides toward a nearby stage. His publicist and his sister—who also acts as his assistant and is Googling where they can find British pub food in New York—are drafting in his wake. I watch off set as Boyega sits down with the hosts of *Live With Kelly and Ryan,* his first of three interviews for the day. Each sit-down requires the same thing of the 25-year-old Brit: promoting his latest film, Kathryn Bigelow's *Detroit,* about the city's 1967 riots, and expounding on the state of race relations in neat, 30-second sound bites. Naturally, interviewers also want to ask about his other new movie, *Star Wars: The Last Jedi,* coming out in December. If the challenge of figuring out how to discuss Black Lives Matter and lightsabers in the same breath weighs on him, Boyega doesn't show it. "I see what I do in part as creating change through art," he tells me. "Sometimes that responsibility can feel like a burden, but it's not. It pushes you to find your purpose in the world."

Most people know Boyega as Finn, the Stormtrooper who defects to the Rebels and helps an aspiring Jedi (Daisy Ridley) in 2015's *Star Wars: The Force Awakens.* Boyega is confident that he can sidestep the quagmire of franchise fame that has kept some actors from ever eclipsing their first blockbuster roles. So when I finally sit down with him for lunch, I begin by asking if he'd rather follow the Denzel Washington/Harrison Ford path to stardom—bringing the same charming swagger to every role—or if he'd prefer to go the Judi Dench/Idris Elba route of disappearing into parts. He grins at me and says, "I think to be a real star, you have to do both. I'm going to do both."

Which might seem presumptuous if Boyega hadn't been consistently checking off items on his superstardom to-do list. Since his breakout role two years ago, he has produced and starred in another franchise film, the upcoming *Pacific Rim: Uprising*

STAR WARS: © 2017 LUCASFILM LTD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED; DETROIT: FRANCOIS DUHAMEL /ANNAPURNA PICTURES

In the upcoming Star Wars: The Last Jedi, *Boyega's lighthearted Finn may take a somber turn*

(become a producer: check), played opposite Tom Hanks in the poorly reviewed *The Circle* (inevitable flop: check), returned to London to play a soldier with PTSD at the Old Vic (reaffirm acting chops onstage: check) and, with *Detroit,* become the face of an Academy Award winner's latest gritty film (make an Oscar bid: check). And he's working on writing and producing his own movies in hopes of leading a generation of artists who bring more diverse stories to the screen.

So, yes, John Boyega will be a big, big movie star. And he plans to get there his own way.

BOYEGA, THE SON OF NIGERIAN PARENTS, grew up in the working-class South London neighborhood of Peckham and began enrolling in youth theater programs when he was 9. As a teen, he was cast in a movie filming near his neighborhood, *Attack the Block*. The comedic horror film centers on a gang of teenagers who must defend their public-housing project from an extraterrestrial invasion. Soon after it premiered, Boyega began trying to land American movie roles, culminating in a series of grueling, secret *Star Wars* auditions for director J.J. Abrams, who had been a fan of his first film.

The day he found out he got the part, Boyega says, he went home to tell his parents. He bowed to them in a traditional Nigerian sign of respect to show his gratitude for the sacrifices they had made. His parents—his mother works with the disabled, while his father is a Pentecostal preacher—immigrated to England before Boyega was born. "I grew up with my dad telling me that you're currently around church people, but soon you're going to be in a world where people don't believe the same things you believe in. People are going to laugh at the stuff you believe or are going to treat you a certain way," Boyega recalls. "And just to try as much as you can to be loving to all people."

Boyega's casting in *Star Wars* put that advice to the test. The beginning of the film's first trailer, released in 2014, showed the actor in Stormtrooper garb minus the helmet. Within minutes, he was deluged with messages on Twitter objecting to the idea of a black man at the center of a *Star Wars* saga. And Boyega continues to endure occasional harassment on social media. "It's blatant racism," he says. "I embrace all people, but I do not embrace racists. I despise racists. Do they know how dumb it is to waste brain cells on taking issue with the

amount of melanin in someone's skin?" He argues that everyone just wants to see themselves represented onscreen and that it's time for more diverse heroes at the movies.

He pauses and then tells me, "I really want you to include this: 99% of the response was positive. Good doesn't get credit sometimes because it's overshadowed by the bad. People tried to boycott the movie, and we made something like a billion dollars in 12 days. That represents every person who bought a ticket. So much for your boycott."

Disney is hoping the next *Star Wars,* subtitled *The Last Jedi,* will draw an even bigger audience when it premieres on Dec. 15. Boyega's innocent Finn offered much of the comic relief in *The Force Awakens,* but the actor says the movie and his character's story get much darker in the sequel. Finn wakes from a coma and is paired off with a new character, Rose (Kelly Marie Tran), as they embark on a dangerous mission with the droid BB-8 in tow. Rose, a lowly engineer who yearns to fight for the Resistance, believes that Finn is a war hero. "Finn's not so sure that he's a hero or that he really even believes in the Resistance or anything at all," says Boyega. "So he's off with Rose, who is a true believer, and he has to figure out whose side he's on and navigate these conflicting emotions."

Detroit *may not have been a big hit, but it was "an even bigger opportunity than* Star Wars *to show what I can do," the actor says*

'GOOD DOESN'T GET CREDIT SOMETIMES BECAUSE IT'S OVERSHADOWED BY THE BAD.'

Finn's onscreen banter—with Rey, with Han Solo, even with BB-8—made the character a fan favorite. As a result, Boyega says he found himself with an unexpected platform. He's used it to defend his fellow actors and challenge the entertainment industry. He spoke for Ridley when she left Instagram after an anti-gun-violence post resulted in harassment. He called out HBO's *Game of Thrones* for its lack of diversity. And he defended *Get Out* star Daniel Kaluuya, whom he knows from the London theater circuit, when Samuel L. Jackson said an African-American actor, rather than a black English actor, should have played the lead role in the movie about American racism. "It just makes no sense for Brits and Americans to fight with each other like that," says Boyega. "When you're black and in a position of influence, you have a responsibility to speak out. When you're an actor, you have a responsibility to speak out through your work."

***DETROIT* IS AN EXAMPLE** of the latter. It is an affecting, if complicated, film. Bigelow filmed it as if she were running with a camera through a war zone. But unlike her other recent movies *(The Hurt Locker, Zero Dark Thirty),* the battleground is a Midwestern metropolis. Boyega plays a security guard who tries to act as a liaison between white cops and black civilians amid unfolding violence at the Algiers Motel. His attempts to protect the innocent eventually make him a scapegoat for the police. "It was an even bigger opportunity than *Star Wars* to show what I can do," he says. "You don't want people going to a movie as serious as this and saying, 'Hey, why is Finn being interrogated by the police?'"

Boyega's performance has put him in the conversation for an Oscar. That's a particularly important item on the superstar checklist and requires a rigorous press tour. If you ask Boyega who his role models are on that score, he'll talk about his *Star Wars* co-star Ford. But when it comes to influences, Boyega is more likely to cite his peers. He brings up Issa Rae, the creator and star of HBO's *Insecure.* "That's something I hope to achieve someday, to write and develop my own original project," he says, adding that he has always written but didn't really understand how to tackle a screenplay until Spike Lee gave him a copy of his *Do the Right Thing* script, which included notes scrawled in the margins.

Boyega says he's excited that several actors he knew from the London theater world are beginning to break into Hollywood too: Malachi Kirby was Kunta Kinte in the recent *Roots* remake for History, and Letitia Wright will play a warrior in the 2018 Marvel superhero movie *Black Panther.* "It kind of reminds me of that picture of Tupac and Jada Pinkett in high school. Everybody's gone off now to have their moments," says Boyega. "I think our generation, we don't want to wait around only to be given the same stereotyped roles again and again. We want to decide our own fate." □

KAUR: CJ CLARKE FOR TIME; MUGARUKA: GRIFF TAPPER FOR TIME

INDIA

GURMEHAR KAUR

Free-speech warrior

It all began when Gurmehar Kaur decided to raise her voice. In February, she and other students at Delhi University's Ramjas College decided to protest campus violence involving the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, a right-wing student organization linked to the Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, which rules India. She posted a photo of herself on social media holding a placard reading, "I am a student from Delhi university. I am not afraid of ABVP. I am not alone."

As the image went viral, an earlier picture surfaced from an unrelated online campaign to promote peace between India and Pakistan. In it, Kaur held a placard about her father, an Indian army captain who had died fighting militants in the disputed region of Kashmir. "Pakistan did not kill my dad," it read. "War killed him." In the context of her challenge to the BJP-linked group, those were seen as fighting words.

Suddenly, Kaur was a target for online trolls and thrust to the center of a national debate on free speech and dissent in an increasingly nationalistic India. She was mocked by a leading cricketer and criticized by a Bollywood actor. Kiren Rijiju, a junior minister in Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government, tweeted, "Who's polluting this girl's mind?"

In the months since, Kaur has been targeted with verbal abuse and death threats. But still she refuses to be silenced, and has a memoir, *Small Acts of Freedom,* that is due to be published next year. "Why should I keep quiet?" she says. "While I never asked for it, I was pushed to the forefront. I realized that people listen to what I say. And if I have something positive to say, why shouldn't I say it?" *—Nikhil Kumar*

CONGO

Linda Mugaruka

QUEEN OF BEANS

IF ANYTHING CAN PULL THE DEMOCRATIC Republic of Congo out of its economic slump, it might be high-end coffee. After all, eastern Congo was one of the world's biggest producers of coffee before war decimated the plantations. But it takes more than new seedlings to grow an industry; professional tasters are needed to help growers and producers make the best out of their beans.

Linda Mugaruka, 25, is one of only a handful of professional coffee cuppers, or tasters, in Congo, and the only woman. Knowing how to identify the quality of Congolese coffee allows her to both help growers improve their methods and woo international buyers who pay a premium for quality processed beans. That translates into more jobs in a country that desperately needs them.

'WE WILL MAKE SURE THAT WHEN PEOPLE HEAR THE WORD CONGO, THEY WILL THINK COFFEE, NOT WAR.'

For that reason, Mugaruka, who works at a coffee-tasting laboratory in Bukavu, is training a new generation of cuppers, introducing Congolese women to the complexities, textures and aromas of their coffee terroir in weekly tastings so they can improve their crops. She hopes her workshops ensure that the next generation of cuppers will include more women. "Yes, I am the first, but I certainly won't be the last," she says. High-end chocolate- and tea-makers also require professional tasters, and both have the potential to create jobs in Congo.

Mugaruka now has her sights on a Q certification, the highest level of coffee connoisseurship. The more she learns, she says, the more cuppers she can train: "Together we will make sure that when people hear the word *Congo,* they will think coffee, not war."

—ARYN BAKER

EGYPT

LINA ATTALAH

Muckraker of the Arab world

The regime of Egypt's President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi is not tolerant of a free media. Journalists can disappear on their way home from work, a Facebook post can land a person in prison, and over 400 websites are blocked. The country is now the third largest jailer of journalists on earth, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists.

As other news organizations in Egypt censor themselves to avoid trouble, one website, Mada Masr, has carved out a niche as one of the only truly independent newsrooms in the country. "We're not the ones keeping freedom of expression alive," says editor in chief Lina Attalah, 35. "But we're definitely contributing to the preservation of that margin."

Under Attalah's leadership, Mada Masr has earned a reputation for being fearless, running blockbuster corruption investigations, revelations of regime purges and coverage of the war against ISIS in the Sinai Peninsula, which the authorities have attempted to shield from public view.

The government blocked Mada Masr in May, but could not shut it down. The newsroom still publishes every day, though readers inside Egypt must read the articles on Facebook or by accessing the site with a VPN. Working in a small newsroom in central Cairo, the organization operates under constant threat of retaliation from the authorities.

"I'm not going to pretend I'm the bravest person on earth," says Attalah. "It's a psychological negotiation with yourself. You try to just lock it somewhere so you're able to produce and do whatever it is you need to do." *—Jared Malsin*

U.K.

Dua Lipa

POP MUSIC'S BOLD NEW VOICE

THERE ARE MANY REASONS WHY DUA LIPA shouldn't be a pop star. When she was a kid in choir, her director told her that her voice was too low. When she was 11 with dreams of making it big, her parents relocated from the U.K. to their native Kosovo, far from the scouts who could break her career. And even after she moved back to London alone at age 15, recording dozens of YouTube covers and eventually scoring a record deal, she still struggled to find her sound. "There were times I had no idea where I wanted to go," she says. "It was scary, it was overwhelming."

That was then. Since releasing her first single, "Be the One," in 2015, Lipa has emerged as one of pop music's strongest new voices, thanks to a series of bold, stadium-ready girl-power anthems. In "Blow Your Mind (Mwah)," Lipa rebukes a would-be lover who doesn't see her strengths ("If you don't like the way I talk, then why am I on your mind?"); in "IDGAF," she dismisses a cheating ex who wants her back ("I'm too busy for your business/ Go find a girl who wants to listen"). Song by song, she's broadening her fan base: Lipa's self-titled debut album, which was released in June, has been streamed more than 1.4 billion times; now she's headlining giant music festivals like Glastonbury and opening for Bruno Mars. "It's so much fun—the adrenaline, the craziness," she says. "There's nothing quite like it."

'GIRLS SHOULD BE LOOKING AFTER GIRLS ... NOW MORE THAN EVER WE NEED THAT IN THE WORLD.'

Lipa is equally passionate about her activism. She started the Sunny Hill Foundation to support charities and arts programs in Kosovo, in order to help kids find a path to a bigger world stage, like she did. She also routinely uses Twitter to advocate for issues like gun control and women's rights as well as to support other rising female pop stars, like Charli XCX, Zara Larsson and Camila Cabello. "Girls should be looking after girls all the time," Lipa says, echoing the sentiment of her latest moving-on-after-a-breakup hit, "New Rules," which hit No. 1 in the U.K. and is gaining traction stateside. "I think now more than ever we need that in the world." —RAISA BRUNER

PHOTOGRAPH BY CELESTE SLOMAN FOR TIME

ATTALAH: DAVID DEGNER—GETTY REPORTAGE FOR TIME

CANADA

LILLY SINGH

The "superwoman" of comedy

For proof of just how creatively Lilly Singh can make a point, look no further than "How to Make a Sandwich." The five-minute YouTube clip at first seems to be a standard cooking tutorial, with Singh cheerfully offering advice from behind a kitchen counter. Except she's talking directly to a commenter—who wrote that "women aren't funny" and asked why Singh wasn't "in the kitching [sic] making me a sandwich." As the sandwich is dressed, he gets dressed down. Try using fresh vegetables "to make up for your expired thought process." When you're cutting onions, "you'll notice [they have] layers—just like your insecurity."

This is humor as Singh believes it should be: smart, irreverent and unapologetically feminist. It has made the 29-year-old Indian-Canadian a star on YouTube, where her sketch-comedy videos—tackling everything from relationships to racism—have logged more than 2 billion views and lured guests like Michelle Obama and James Franco. Growing up as the daughter of Punjabi immigrants, Singh says, "it was definitely embedded into my upbringing, like, 'Indian girls shouldn't do this' or 'Girls shouldn't do that.'" Now "Superwoman," as she's known to her fans, presides over a multimillion-dollar brand, comprising live tours, film and TV roles (she's slated to appear in HBO's *Fahrenheit 451*) and a best-selling book.

Like any budding comic, Singh has her share of critics. But none have distracted her from her larger goal of empowering young women—not just by making them laugh but by working with groups like UNICEF and the Malala Fund to ensure that they have equal opportunity, especially in education. "If I can have an impact," says Singh, "it seems like a waste not to use it to have some kind of positive influence on the planet."

—Cady Lang

CHRIS MCPHERSON FOR TIME

BELGIUM

Adil El Arbi

THE SPIELBERG OF MOLENBEEK

WHEN ADIL EL ARBI STARTED FILM SCHOOL, HE knew right away that he didn't quite fit in. The son of Moroccan market vendors in Belgium, attending on a government scholarship, he felt adrift in the sea of white middle-class faces. It was not only his roots that were different but his cinematic heroes. While others talked of their love of auteurs like Jean-Luc Godard, El Arbi named Steven Spielberg, Spike Lee and Oliver Stone as role models.

"*JFK* and *Platoon* and *Nixon,* these are political movies, they were Hollywood movies, but still they meant something," he says. "[But] from the moment that you try to do something a little bit more entertaining, then it's like you are a sellout."

The qualities that set El Arbi apart eventually led to his success. He and fellow student Bilall Fallah, who shared not only his background but his cinematic passions, started making movies that drew on

PHOTOGRAPH BY NICK BALLON FOR TIME

their experiences growing up as Belgian Moroccans, but with high-energy entertainment value and emotional storytelling.

The directing pair attracted international attention in 2015 with their second feature-length film, *Black,* a *West Side Story*–type gangland tale that was filmed and set in Molenbeek, the Brussels neighborhood that has since become synonymous with Islamic terrorism. Many of the men who carried out the Paris terrorist attacks in 2015 lived there, but El Arbi was determined to show a different side of the residents. The cast, made up of locals, "shows how many talented people are there, that a big generation of people want to do something positive," he says.

Black made a splash at the Toronto International Film Festival in 2015, and Hollywood came calling. "Even though *Black* is a hard movie about gangs, it has this accessible way of telling the story, and that is what they were looking for," he says.

El Arbi, 29, suddenly found himself meeting people like legendary *Top Gun* producer Jerry Bruckheimer, among other studio executives. Asked what kind of films they wanted to make, he and Fallah confessed their ambition to make Hollywood blockbusters. In 2016, they got the call to direct *Beverly Hills Cop 4,* the long-awaited comeback for Eddie Murphy's Axel Foley. It might seem a world away from the streets of Molenbeek, but El Arbi says the new film will be a return to the original's grittier feel. It's partly set in Detroit, a "rough, hard world … that is also a bit like Brussels," says El Arbi.

'ART AND ANGER, AND A WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT AND STRUGGLE, WILL MAKE THIS ONE OF THE GREATEST GENERATIONS.'

The pair have also directed the first two episodes of *Snowfall,* a pilot series for FX about the U.S. crack epidemic of the 1980s, and have been tapped to direct *The Big Fix,* about the FIFA corruption scandal. El Arbi's experience in the U.S. so far has been uniformly positive, he says, but as a Muslim he cannot help but be aware of challenges in a world where nationalism and xenophobic sentiment have crept into the mainstream. It was easy growing up feeling as if there were "nothing to fight for," he says. But now people his age have something on which to focus their energies. "Art and anger, and a willingness to fight and struggle, will make this one of the greatest generations," he says.

—CHARLOTTE MCDONALD-GIBSON

GREECE

Giannis Antetokounmpo

BASKETBALL'S FREAK TALENT

IN FEBRUARY 2016, MILWAUKEE BUCKS COACH Jason Kidd told 6 ft. 11 in. NBA superstar Giannis Antetokounmpo—known as the "Greek Freak" for his homeland and for his ability to dunk a basketball with one foot on the floor—that he'd be the team's new point guard.

The position requires unique leadership skills; a player must start offensive attacks, shout directions and distribute the ball to veteran teammates hungry to fatten their stats. The task intimidated him—at 21, he was still the sheepish kid who had leaned on the Eddie Murphy comedy *Coming to America* to learn English. Most other point guards were way more experienced (and far shorter).

'I ALWAYS HAD TO BE THERE FOR MY FAMILY. I THINK THAT HELPED ME A LOT TO ADJUST TO THE NBA.'

But it's no wonder that he blossomed into an electrifying talent, a player who last season became the first in NBA history to finish in the top 20 in scoring, rebounds, blocks, assists and steals. The son of undocumented immigrants from Nigeria, Antetokounmpo grew up fearing that his parents would be deported at any moment. "We didn't have the opportunity to be who we were destined to be because we didn't have a piece of paper," he tells TIME. Antetokounmpo sold watches, glasses and toys on the streets of Athens. That hustle put food on his family's table. Ordering around a bunch of older millionaires? That was easy. "I always had to be there for my family. I think that helped me a lot to adjust to the NBA," he says.

Antetokounmpo says he hasn't followed the political debate in the U.S. over immigration closely but that people like him "need an opportunity to become great in life, to become something better." That's part of the reason he's helping sponsor a college scholarship in Greece for a student who is either not a citizen there or who has not received citizenship in the last five years. He also wants to build schools, and cites Magic Johnson, Muhammad Ali and Nelson Mandela as leaders who inspire him. The power of his platform is not something he takes for granted. "Before I leave this earth," he says, "I'm going to help people have a better future."

—SEAN GREGORY/MILWAUKEE

PHOTOGRAPH BY SARA STATHAS FOR TIME

U.S.

CHRISTINE KEUNG

Doing good in China

When Christine Keung first traveled to northwestern China in 2014 on a Fulbright scholarship, she set about collaborating with local university students to improve the region's heavily polluted environment. In many rural communities in Shaanxi province, for example, contaminated rivers and streams meant there was no source of clean drinking water. So she helped locals build systems to track, control and recycle waste responsibly.

What Keung originally intended to be a yearlong stop between college and business school morphed into a four-year mission to address the slew of issues affecting everyday people in this corner of her parents' homeland. She acts as a liaison between Chinese students and U.S. researchers on issues from pollution to health care, gathering and analyzing data to craft personalized responses. In one ongoing project, she works with a U.S.-based manufacturer to give children eyeglasses. In another, she helped rural mothers access nutritious meals. "Everything we're doing is to increase the overall quality of life for people in that region of China," she says.

The ultimate goal, Keung says, is to empower the university students to carry on the work themselves. "It's not about developing one solution or even five," she says. "It's about developing these students."

Keung is now back in the U.S., working as chief of staff at Dropbox's legal department. But she remains committed to her work in rural China, waking during twilight hours to speak to researchers on the ground in China and traveling there and to Europe in her spare time to help manage projects and meet funders. "It all comes at the cost of my sleep," she jokes.

Keung still intends to go to business school, just a bit later than planned. The skills she learns there will help her continue to improve lives, fulfilling what she calls her "moral responsibility." *—Justin Worland*

CHRIS MCPHERSON FOR TIME

U.S.

RICHARD CASPER

Helping veterans through art

Richard Casper was patrolling an Iraqi road at dawn in February 2007 when a blast lifted his humvee off the ground in a flash of light. The U.S. Marine had been hit with an improvised explosive device for the fourth time in four months, and for the third time he suffered a concussion.

The blasts left Casper with traumatic brain injury, and when he returned home to Bloomington, Ill., he struggled with posttraumatic stress, anxiety and depression. To cope with difficult memories, like watching as a fellow Marine was shot and killed next to him, Casper turned to art. Through paintings and sculptures, he could finally relay what he was feeling. "Art ended up changing my life," says Casper, 32, who now lives in Nashville.

In 2013, he co-founded CreatiVets, a nonprofit that helps veterans heal through free music and art programs. The group flies veterans to Nashville to collaborate with accomplished songwriters for three days, or to Chicago to study at the School of the Art Institute for three weeks. Casper and CreatiVets co-founder Linda Tarrson have helped more than 80 people so far, including Tommy Houston, who credits the program with repairing his relationship with his 18-year-old daughter Emily. When Houston retired from the U.S. military in 2015, after serving nearly 30 years, he realized how much he'd missed. "I was gone so much. She grew up without me," says Houston, 50.

Through CreatiVets, Houston channeled his regret into the song "Yellow Balloon." Emily cried when she heard it. She's since switched colleges to be closer to her dad in Oregon. "It definitely got her back into my life," Houston says. —*Melissa Chan*

PAST LEADERS: WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

TIME has been running its biannual Next Generation Leaders feature since September 2014, showcasing young people from around the globe who are hard at work changing the world. Here's what some of our previous leaders are up to now:

SEBASTIAN KURZ (2017)
Austrian Foreign Minister Kurz, 31, took charge of the country's center-right People's Party in May and is the favorite to be elected President on Oct. 15.

SAOIRSE RONAN (2016)
Irish-American actor Ronan may win her third Oscar nomination, for *On Chesil Beach*. The 23-year-old also received rave reviews for her role in the comedy *Lady Bird*.

POLLY STENHAM (2016)
The British playwright, 31, has written an adaptation of Strindberg's *Miss Julie,* to run in London's National Theatre in 2018. *Julie* stars *The Crown*'s Vanessa Kirby.

FENG ZHANG (2016)
Gene-editing pioneer Zhang, 34, won the $500,000 Lemelson-MIT Prize on Sept. 19, the largest cash prize for invention in the U.S.

BONIFACE MWANGI (2015)
The Kenyan activist and photojournalist, 34, created a new political party, Ukweli, in March and ran for office in his country's Aug. 8 elections but fell short of victory.

IJAD MADISCH (2014)
The 36-year-old's professional social network, ResearchGate, revealed a $52.6 million round of funding last February from investors like Goldman Sachs and Bill Gates.

CASPER: LUKAS AUGUSTIN FOR TIME; KURZ: REINER RIEDLER–ANZENBERGER/REDUX; RONAN: PETER HAPAK FOR TIME; STENHAM: JIM NAUGHTEN FOR TIME; ZHANG: GUIDO VITTI FOR TIME; MWANGI: PETE MULLER—PRIME FOR TIME; MADISCH: MUSTAFAH ABDULAZIZ FOR TIME

BIG NEWS: FAST PAIN RELIEF IS NOW MIGHTY SMALL

OUR FIRST CONCENTRATED PILL WORKS AT LIQUID SPEED.

Use as directed.

© Pfizer 2017

ITHACA, N.Y.

SVANTE MYRICK

The 30-year-old mayor uses social media to crowdfund city projects like fireworks displays

WHEN MILLENNIALS RULE

One day soon, young people will run the government. These American mayors show how they'll do it

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

THE "HALL OF JUSTICE" HAS JUST TWO RULES: A NIGHTLY GAME OF beer pong, and a ban on talking politics after 8 p.m. The seven-bedroom house in upstate New York was home to a motley crew of government nerds—county legislators, city-council members, Ph.D. students and one big guy called "the Mayor." Svante Myrick got the nickname because he was always bigfooting decisions and hogging the remote control. But also because in 2011, at 24, he became the youngest-ever mayor of Ithaca, N.Y.

"The youngest generation is pretty sure that we can do it better than the folks that have been doing it for a long time," says Myrick, who was re-elected in 2015 with 89% of the vote. "And the folks that have been doing it for a long time are pretty sure that the youngest generation has no idea what we're doing."

Young people have always rolled their eyes at the received wisdom of the olds, but now they've got numbers on their side. Millennials—born between 1980 and 2000—overtook baby boomers as the largest segment of the U.S. population in 2015, yet they are led by one of the most

PHOTOGRAPH BY LANDON NORDEMAN FOR TIME

geriatric federal governments in history. Donald Trump, at 71, is the oldest President ever elected to a first term. On Capitol Hill, the average ages in the House and Senate were 49 and 53 in 1981; today they're 59 and 62. Nearly half of Senators defending their seats in 2018 will be over 65 on Election Day, including California's Dianne Feinstein, who recently announced that she'll run for re-election at 84. More than half of the Supreme Court was born before you could buy a color TV.

The Founding Fathers framed America as a representative democracy, yet the largest living generation has the least representation in Washington. Trump was propelled into office by older voters, but many of his policies so far weigh heaviest on millennials, who voted against him by a double-digit margin and overwhelmingly disapprove of his presidency. When Trump banned transgender troops from military service, some of the loudest outcry was from young people, who are twice as likely as boomers to identify as LGBTQ. When Trump and his Attorney General Jeff Sessions, 70, ended the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program shielding 800,000 young undocumented immigrants from deportation, the effect will be mostly felt among millennial immigrants and their cohort. When 22 GOP Senators—with an average age over 65—pushed Trump to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, it appalled many young people, who tend to be the most concerned about climate change.

So far millennials have not responded by running en masse for federal office. And in state legislatures, they account for just 5% of seats nationwide. They have, however, planted flags at the local level, where government tends to be most accountable and least partisan. And lately, municipal governments are picking up the slack dropped by Washington on issues important to millennials like immigration and climate change. Whether a harbinger of change or merely natural succession, their growing prominence in local government casts the gulf between Washington and cities as a generational divide as well.

"When I talked to young people and asked, 'Would you consider running for any office?,' they'd say, 'Maybe mayor,'" says Shauna Shames, an assistant professor of political science at Rutgers University and the author of *Out of the Running: Why Millennials Reject Political Careers and Why It Matters*. National politics requires too much fundraising, she explains, and local office seems like a surer way to make a mark.

There's even a new sitcom on ABC about a young rapper who finds himself running city hall. "You look for some way where you can actively effect change," explains *Hamilton* star Daveed Diggs, an executive producer of *The Mayor*. "The place where it feels like you have the most control is within our communities, with the people you interact with every day."

'THESE YOUNG PEOPLE DON'T WANT TO WAIT FOR A YEAR TO GO BY BEFORE TACKLING CHALLENGES. THEY WANT TO TRY IT NOW.'

That would help account for the surge of young candidates targeting down-ballot races. Almost 11,000 millennials have asked about running for state and local office through Run for Something, a new Democratic-affiliated political organization aimed at recruiting young candidates. Emily's List, a group that supports pro-abortion-rights female candidates, has been approached by nearly 19,000 potential candidates this year, including half of them under 45.

To the extent they are inspired by former President Obama and antagonized by Trump, these young upstarts might revive a Democratic Party that holds fewer seats in Congress than at any point since 1946. But either way, time will put an end to baby-boomer dominance and make way for a new generation of leaders who could shape the nation in ways not yet imaginable.

In search of a preview of what might change, TIME interviewed 11 millennial mayors, plus dozens of other young elected officials—Democrats and Republicans, veterans and teachers, city dwellers and small-town leaders. No two were alike, but what they had in common—a preternatural ease with technology, an appetite for collaboration and impatience with reflexive partisanship—offer hints of a future they are eager to shape. "We have to snatch the torch," says Brandon Scott, a 33-year-old member of the Baltimore city council. "It's never been passed."

AS A POLITICAL NOVICE with zero executive experience, the 29-year-old mayor of South Bend, Ind., nonetheless took office feeling the weight of expectations. "When you run for office in your 20s, your face is your message," says Pete Buttigieg, now 35 and halfway through his second term. "You are going to be the candidate of new ideas, technology and innovation. Even if you don't have any new ideas and don't like technology."

Fortunately, millennials are often fluent in both. And the chance to put ideas immediately to work is what makes local office attractive. "Ours might be the first generation of mayors who don't necessarily consider state and federal government a step up," says Buttigieg, an openly gay Afghanistan veteran who recently ran for chair of the Democratic National Committee. "A generation ago, folks like us wouldn't run for local office in the first place—we would go to law school, try to work for a Congressman and then try to be a Congressman."

Once in city hall, the young mayors say, they wasted no time. Confronted by the glut of abandoned properties in South Bend, Buttigieg demolished or repaired 1,000 of them in 1,000 days. Unemployment has fallen nearly 10 points under Compton, Calif., Mayor Aja Brown, 35, by requiring companies in the L.A. basin city to hire more locals. Alex Morse, the 28-year-old mayor of Holyoke, Mass., got a passenger rail station built and increased the city's

RICK RIVERA

▲ *STOCKTON, CALIF.*

MICHAEL TUBBS

The 27-year-old's office is adorned with lyrics by hip-hop artist J. Cole. He sorts his interns into Hogwarts houses: he is a Gryffindor

carbon-neutral power generation to 85%, with an aim to be totally carbon-neutral by 2020. Mayor Michael Tubbs, 27, recently convinced Amazon to build a 600,000-sq.-ft. facility in Stockton, Calif. And Matt Gentry, the 28-year-old Republican mayor of Lebanon, Ind., has a version of a "swear bucket" in his office: if you explain a decision with "That's how it's always been done," you have to put in 25¢.

It's not just the vigor of youth. "Millennials work in a very different way," says Daniel Lopez, who worked for older politicians in Sacramento before joining Tubbs' staff. "These young people don't want to wait for a year to go by before tackling challenges. They want to try it now."

In government, that attitude can have unintended consequences. "You have no management experience when you're just entering your professional career," says Erin Stewart, the 30-year-old Republican mayor of New Britain, Conn. When she was elected at 26, she tried to reorganize city government, but admits she didn't get it right at first. "I had very high expectations," Stewart says, adding that she was asking too much of longtime staffers and initiating too many new projects. She realized she had to listen to more experienced city employees before making changes.

That can be frustrating for a generation raised to believe that anything from taxis to dating could be hacked. "Government is not designed to move fast," says Tubbs, the youngest mayor of a U.S. city with more than 100,000 people. "If you prototype something and it fails, it's just an internal conversation in your office. If I prototype water delivery or trash, it touches everyone, especially the most vulnerable."

That doesn't mean these mayors are leaving their phones at home. Young leaders insist on making government as wired and social-media-savvy as its citizens. An hour before each city-council meeting in New Britain, Stewart sits down in front of her computer and launches a Facebook Live to update residents on the agenda—new plans for paving roads, hiring police officers and building bridges—and answer their questions in real time. "Let's not spend money on a bridge!" one resident comments. "When it collapses," the mayor replies, "you'll wish we spent it, lol."

The videos can get hundreds of comments and more than 3,000 views, not bad in a city of 73,000. "We're averaging all these views, but we can't get two people to show up to city hall," says Stewart. "That's fine, I'll bring government to you."

On the other side of the country, in Compton, Brown hosts virtual town halls on her official Facebook page and posts photos of her husband's

homemade dinners on Instagram. In Ithaca, Myrick has turned to social media to crowdfund city projects like the July 4th fireworks display. Buttigieg had to introduce new software to improve coordination between South Bend's city agencies, he says, because "I was getting all my crime stats by fax." And Morse describes switching Holyoke city emails to Gmail and computers to Macs as "little things that, as a young person, seem normal to me."

To other young people, these changes make local government seem less musty. They don't have to show up to municipal meetings to get in touch with their representatives. "We see ourselves in him," says Harold Grigsby, 20, an intern in Tubbs' office who never considered politics until meeting him. "If he can do it, I can do it. He'll tweet right back at you."

But there can be downsides to the intimacy of social media, particularly when it meets the porous boundaries of public life. Before she settled down with her fiancé, Stewart took a stab at Tinder. "Surprisingly, there are quite a few other elected officials on Tinder as well," she says. "I definitely swiped left."

Others are explicit about avoiding the unfiltered risks of social media. Myrick speaks to the hazards, though not in terms typically heard on C-SPAN. "We realized that there were lingering consequences to something you wrote on AIM or MySpace or Facebook," he says. "I didn't think there was ever a moment in my life when I felt the kind of anonymity that some people do when they're in a club with their shirt off, like doing lines of cocaine off their best friend's butt."

▲ *SOUTH BEND, IND.*

PETE BUTTIGIEG

The 35-year-old, pictured here on *Late Night with Seth Meyers*, says his view of national security was shaped by serving in Afghanistan

STOCKTON POLICE CHIEF Eric Jones is updating Tubbs on the latest crime stats when a server delivers a bowl of unfamiliar beans to their table. "What do I do with this?" asks the chief, who has been serving in the Stockton police department for almost as long as Tubbs has been breathing. You use your teeth, Tubbs explains, and then demonstrates how to eat edamame.

In 2012, when Tubbs was a senior at Stanford and first planning his successful run for city council, 71 people were killed in Stockton, a higher per capita murder rate than in Chicago or Afghanistan. That year, Stockton also became the largest municipality in America to declare bankruptcy. In the years since, Tubbs and Jones—a young black man and a middle-aged white cop—have developed an unlikely friendship. Together, they built a coalition of community leaders, law enforcement, social workers and concerned citizens to create a violence-prevention task force called South Stockton Promise Zone. In the five years since they started, homicides and gun crimes fell significantly before recently stabilizing.

When Tubbs was first elected, he didn't know that building the South Stockton Promise Zone would entail negotiating a truce. "Being so young, I didn't realize many of these organizations were at war with each other," he said. He got them to work together by cracking jokes and pooling resources.

Pragmatism is a trait that runs across the generation, says Morley Winograd, coauthor of *Millennial Momentum: How a New Generation Is Remaking America*. "Millennials approach a task by forming a team to take it on," he says, describing a method that suits government work. "The difference between boomers and millennials is that one wants to do it in a win-lose way, the other wants to do it in a win-win way."

Elections, of course, are win-lose affairs, yet elected millennials appear uncommonly comfortable questioning their parties. Buttigieg expressed doubts about Democratic strategies for reviving the Rust Belt economy, and Myrick, who campaigned as a surrogate for Hillary Clinton, said he's not surprised her message didn't resonate. Stewart, the Republican mayor of New Britain, Conn., keeps a picture of Obama in her office. Like almost all the mayors interviewed, she says she feels "inspired" by the former President. She also says Trump has made the office into a "joke."

"I get along better with younger Republicans than some older Democrats," says Daniel Riemer, 30, a Democratic state representative in Wisconsin. U.S. Representative Elise Stefanik, 33, a Republican from upstate New York, worked with young Democratic colleagues to push for legislation to make college more affordable and advocate for stronger action on climate change. "Older elected officials have aged during so much gridlock and partisan fighting," she says. "I just think my generation doesn't want to see the extreme partisanship that we're seeing."

That said, Trump's election may have inspired even more young Americans to enter the arena. A 2013 survey by the Bipartisan Policy Center and *USA Today* found that only 13% of them had seriously

BUTTIGIEG: LLOYD BISHOP—NBC/NBCU/GETTY IMAGES; STEWART: STAN GODLEWSKI—HARTFORD COURANT/AP

considered running for office. But in 2017, young people are now more inclined to say politics is relevant and that it creates tangible results, according to a biannual Harvard survey. There's even a new lobby, the Association of Young Americans (AYA), billed as the "AARP for young people," to push for action on climate change, student debt, criminal-justice reform and voting rights. "Everyone has lobbyists and the ability to put consistent pressure on legislatures," says AYA founder Ben Brown, "except for young people."

They truly are the sleeping giant of U.S. politics. Although millennials and boomers each account for about 30% of Americans, boomers hold 55% of seats in statehouses, compared with millennials' 5%. Gen X and the Silent Generation, which sandwich boomers, are represented proportionally to their numbers. But that's a snapshot, not a trend line.

"There is almost no research done on the generational demographics of these offices," says Amanda Litman, who co-founded Run for Something. "We know that barely 5% of state legislators are under the age of 35, but beyond that, it's anyone's best guess."

That age has long marked the threshold at which youth is surrendered to the more somber slogs of adulthood. The Constitution also marks it as the minimum age required to be President, which means the oldest millennials, at about 36, have now achieved that requirement, at least on paper.

▲ *NEW BRITAIN, CONN.*

ERIN STEWART

The 30-year-old asked her friends to delete their Facebook pictures of her when she ran for mayor at 26

THE ITHACA COMMONS was one of those problems that everyone acknowledged but nobody fixed. The pedestrian mall, built in 1974, obstructed access to decades-old electric utilities and water lines that hadn't been updated in a century. Obviously, the Commons had to be ripped up and realigned, but nobody wanted to deal with the fallout of turning an area with 150 businesses into a multiyear construction zone. His predecessor had commissioned designs for renovating the commons, but Svante Myrick bit the bullet.

It wasn't easy. Construction went over budget and lasted longer than expected. Myrick had to get creative with funding: he wrangled $4.5 million in federal transit money by presenting the Commons as a walkway between two bus stops. For more than two years, local business owners were furious that the construction hurt their revenue, pedestrians hated the eyesore, and angry residents packed city meetings and wrote nasty letters to the local paper. But now that the new Commons is complete and business is booming, some of the project's fiercest critics have become its biggest supporters.

"I think the decision to do it was a youthful one," Myrick says of his plan. "Because I was naive about how easy it would be, and because I was like, 'What's two years of pain if we can get this right for 100 years?'" That perspective, from the ripe old age of 30, may capture the core of the millennial political attitude to date: ambition bordering on arrogance, with an insistence on getting things done.

It is an approach born of youthful optimism. Julián Castro was elected mayor of San Antonio at 34 before serving as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development under Obama. He says that in some ways, inexperience made him a better leader: "It made me see the glass as half full. I was more positive and less jaded. You're not discouraged by years and years of having butted your head up against a wall and not gotten results, so you're more willing to try."

Given the dire economic prospects facing a generation defined by moving back in with the folks, it's a wonder that millennial politicians are so upbeat. "The baby boomers were handed by the Greatest Generation the wealthiest nation that anybody had ever seen," says Myrick. "And they're passing down to us colleges that leave us $120,000 in debt, roads that look worse than they did in 1950, airports that look worse than they did in 1960 and schools that feel worse than they did in 1970."

His explanation: "That generation of leadership—from Reagan to now—was afraid to tell the American people to 'ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.'"

For someone born nearly a quarter-century after JFK's death, Myrick does a pretty credible impression of the nation's freshest-faced President. But then he takes a turn for the solemn. Millennials, he says, are more politically similar to their grandparents, who fought World War II, than their boomer parents. "Financial adversity and scarcity and austerity, and being shocked into a global awareness, means that our generation is primed and prepared for greatness," he says.

He's not joking. ◻

Trump, with her dog Tiger in her New York City townhouse, says she lives "how Louis XVI would have lived if he had had money"

THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST WIFE WOULD LIKE SOME CREDIT

IVANA TRUMP HAS HER SAY

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

EVERY FAMILY IS A TINY NATION UNTO itself, with its leaders, its laws and its geopolitics. Each has its natural resources and its internal challenges. The family of President Donald Trump seems to have been a place where its citizens Donald Jr., Ivanka and Eric could flourish: for rich kids, they're remarkably industrious and polite. A new book says that is due not to their founding father but to their mother.

"Some people—including Hillary Clinton—consider [the kids] to be Donald Trump's finest accomplishments," writes Ivana Trump, the President's first and so far longest-serving wife, in her new book, *Raising Trump* (Gallery Books), which came out on Oct. 10. "I believe the credit for raising such great kids belongs to me."

No other sitting U.S. President has ever had an ex-wife write a book about their erstwhile home life, the kind of father and husband he was and the kind of fun the ex-wife went on to have after he cheated and left.

Actually, no other U.S. President has had an ex-wife who escaped the communist bloc by means of a fake marriage; or sold her name-brand products on TV in three countries; or still openly feuds with the President's second wife; or fed his children sea urchins just harvested from beneath her yacht and seasoned only with a drop of champagne; or jokes that she prefers younger men because she'd rather be a baby-sitter than a caretaker; or buys lingerie in sets of 12, which she sends to each of her homes overseas because people steal it from her suitcases; or declares how much sex married people are really having. (A few times a month.) And never before has a First Lady publicly called a forerunner's behavior "attention-seeking and self-serving," as Melania Trump did this month. Then again, this isn't the first time precedent has gone to the dogs during this presidency.

Ronald Reagan had an ex, but the marriage was brief, and Jane Wyman was discreet. Trump, who was married to the President for 14 years, is not the kind of ex who declines the spotlight. If there's credit to be had, she will have some. And she wants credit, mostly, for three things: Donald Jr., Ivanka (whose given name is also Ivana) and Eric.

"When Donald started to campaign, he was going on the debates, and [the kids] were going with him to rallies. People came to know them," says Trump, 68, in her soft, Czech-inflected voice. "On the street and in the airport, total strangers were coming up to me, and they'd say, 'Ivana, how did you do it, to raise such a fabulous kid?'"

According to *Raising Trump* (written with Valerie Frankel, who helped Joan Rivers write her memoir), she did it by making family strict again. Trump is proud not to have breast-fed. She's an unabashed spanker. She believes in routine, very full schedules and punctuality.

PHOTOGRAPH BY GILLIAN LAUB FOR TIME

Her teenagers had early curfews, and she cut Donald Jr. off when he took a gap year after college to bartend in Aspen, Colo. Her version of helicopter parenting was taking her kids on the weekends in an actual chopper to Atlantic City, where they would amuse themselves in her office while she made sure the high rollers at the Trump's Castle casino were accommodated.

The results, she says, speak for themselves. Ivanka's elegance? Her doing. Ivanka, after ballet classes and art lessons, used to sit on the bathtub rim watching her mom get dolled up. Donald Jr.'s discipline? Her doing. She spanked him when he misbehaved and made him work (on Trump properties) every summer. Eric's perseverance? Her doing. When he hated skiing because he was cold and scared and only 3 years old, Trump, who was a competitive skier, made him keep at it.

All three kids are now in the spotlight, so people are getting a good look at Trump's handiwork. Not everyone is as impressed as her airport interlocutors. While they may not be spoiled, critics say, the older Trump kids are definitely careless. (The President has two other children: Tiffany, 23, with Marla Maples, and Barron, 11, with Melania.) Donald Jr.'s meeting with a Russian contact who promised sordid information on Clinton means he now will likely have to testify publicly before a Senate committee. A report by ProPublica says he and Ivanka also misled buyers at the Trump SoHo condominium building and, though they settled without admitting any wrongdoing, they were forced to refund 90% of some buyers' money.

In April, a report found that the Chinese knitting factory that produces Ivanka's clothing brand was in violation of two dozen international labor standards. In June, the New York attorney general said the state would look into a report that the Eric Trump Foundation funneled more than $1 million from charity golf tournaments into the Trump Organization. (A spokesperson has denied this.) And both Eric and Donald Jr. have taken heat for posing with photos of an elephant and a leopard that they had shot. That last one aggravates Trump too. "Why go to Zimbabwe to shoot Bambi and Dumbo?" she writes. "I don't blame people for giving them a hard time."

Trump, here in the '90s, still skis at Aspen

Even when young, the Trumps were not a jeans-and-T-shirt family

Ivanka, in her room in Trump's townhouse, after the split

BUT SHE DISMISSES the rest of the stories of malfeasance with a wave of her French tips as she sits on a heavily tasseled red and green couch in her living room, decorated, she says, as "how Louis XVI would have lived if he had had money." Her kids, who contributed their own impressions of their childhoods throughout the book, are nothing like the media's depiction of them, she says. (The White House and the Trump children did not respond to questions about the book or this interview. Trump says she has not provided the President with a copy.) Raised in Czechoslovakia by an engineer father and a telephone-operator mother, she has no love for Russians. "I don't like them," she says. "They are communists, and they are hardcore people. They terrorized my country." And yes, she thinks they're capable of messing with U.S. elections. "They are very smart, very calculated, and they are capable of doing anything."

'I WAS TOO SUCCESSFUL TO BE MRS. TRUMP. IN OUR MARRIAGE, THERE COULDN'T BE TWO STARS. SO ONE OF US HAD TO GO.'

Donald Jr. had "zero interest in Russia," she says. "Never been in Russia, and they can investigate him as much as they want." Her maternal loyalty is endearing if misplaced, since Donald Jr. has been in Russia, and reportedly much more often than his father. Trump has similarly profound faith that her kids are not doing anything wrong in their business or charity dealings either.

Of course, she has anxieties. With Ivanka's job in the Administration and three kids to raise, "I'm a little bit worried that she has maybe too much on her plate," says Trump, though she does write that her daughter "might be the first female—and Jewish—POTUS."

For somebody who had to flee New York to protect her young children from the tabloid feeding frenzy sparked by her husband's infidelity, Trump is remarkably loyal to her ex. He was a good father, she writes, and his best quality was that he deferred to her on everything. "He was not the kind of father who would be able to speak to them 'choochoo-newnew-choochoo-newnew' when they were 6 years old," says Trump, mimicking baby talk. "He was able to communicate with them by the time they were in university, when they could go and talk the business."

Yes, during the painful days of the divorce, when her husband was with "the showgirl," as Trump still calls Maples, Trumpland endured some dark times. Donald Jr. stopped speaking to his father

The weekend Donald and Marla met in New York City in 1976

Cooking for the extended Trump-family Thanksgiving

The two older siblings in Donald Jr.'s room in Trump Tower

The young Trumps frolic off the coast of France in the mid-'90s

for about a year. During the height of the scandal, shortly after Trump was called an "unfit mother" in the tabloids, the President sent a bodyguard to bring his eldest son to his 28th-floor office and then told her he was going to raise the boy. "I said, 'I have two more to raise. Keep him!' Fifteen minutes later, Donald Jr. was on his way home," Trump says, laughing. She thinks people should ignore some of what the President says. "Very often he doesn't mean it. He has said silly things."

There was also unpleasantness over money and the allegations of assault. "That was all just the lawyers' talk," says Trump of the accusations—including rape—in her divorce documents, which she and her ex successfully fought together to keep private last year.

TRUMP IS CAREFUL to distinguish her administration from the ones that followed. Hers was a marriage of equals. When she met her future husband at the '70s hot spot Maxwell's Plum, she says, he was making $70,000 a year. She worked on the Trump Tower and the casino, then took on the Plaza, she notes, all to great acclaim. So why did the wheels come off the marriage? "I think Donald probably felt a little bit jealous of my success. And I felt it," she says. "There was nothing really he could do. He saw how much profit I made, so he would never fire me from Atlantic City. He would never fire me from Plaza Hotel, because I did such a great job. And maybe he resented it a little bit." The problem with being married to someone who loves to compete is that only one person can win. "I was too successful to be Mrs. Trump," she writes in the book. "In our marriage, there couldn't be two stars. So one of us had to go." (The President has said in the past that making his wife part of his business strained their union.)

Trump has little time for women who stay with cheating husbands, though the President was not her last. She writes that she approached Clinton to ask, "How do you deal with it?" but she didn't answer. "I think she should have left," says Trump of the former Secretary of State. "At least she would have left with her dignity."

But the Trump union was like the Clintons' in at least one way: the partners saw eye to eye on politics. Were she First Lady, says Trump, her core issue would be health, especially prescription-drug prices: "Obamabill, it's a disaster. And it has to be changed." She also feels strongly about limiting immigration. Trump was able to leave the Soviet bloc through means of a faux marriage to an Austrian friend, which gave her Austrian citizenship. She was then able to move to Canada, where, she writes "everything was new to her."

That escape notwithstanding, Trump has become hardened on immigration by her time spent in Europe. (She has a house in St.-Tropez and kept a yacht, M.Y. *Ivana,* in the Mediterranean for several years.) "There are millions of immigrants, which are coming from Syria," she says. "They don't have education. They don't know our culture. They don't know how to dress to fit in. So it's a disaster." It follows that she's in favor of the President's wall. "What I don't like is that the Mexican woman who is nine months pregnant crosses over the wall, which is two feet tall, goes to the hospital and gives birth to the child, and it becomes automatically American. Who is paying for her?"

But politics, Trump emphasizes, is not really her interest. That's not to say she couldn't take to it. "Could I straighten out the White House in 14 days?" she asks. "Of course. Can I go and give the speech without a teleprompter for 45 minutes? Of course. Can I entertain? Of course. But it is just not something I would like to do." Recently, she lets slip, Milos Zeman, the President of the Czech Republic, said he'd like her to be the U.S. ambassador there, and her ex said it was fine with him, but she declined. She likes her current life too much.

Trump has no regrets. Even knowing what she now knows, she would do it all again. She may not have been the right partner for the President, but she is his ideal ex-spouse, living in loud luxury, playing by her own rules. ◻

PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF IVANA TRUMP (7)

Paid Advertisement

U.S. MONEY RESERVE

Official United States Government-Issued Gold Eagle Coins

Special Arrangements Can Be Made for Gold Orders Over $50,000

U.S. Government*

GOLD EAGLE

AT-COST PUBLIC RELEASE

AMERICANS OWN GOLD FOR ONLY $129!

The U.S. Money Reserve Main Vault Facility announces our latest release of U.S. government-issued gold coins previously held in the West Point Depository/ U.S. Mint. U.S. citizens can buy government-issued $5 gold coins at the incredible at-cost price of only $129.00 each—an amazing price because these U.S. government-issued gold coins are completely free of dealer markup. That's correct—our cost. Take advantage of gold's low price, which is currently around $1,275 per ounce. **Please be advised: These U.S. government gold coins, currently held in our inventory, will be priced at $129.00 each while supplies last or for up to 30 days.** Call now to avoid disappointment! Orders that are not immediately received or reserved with the order center could be subject to cancellation and your checks returned uncashed.

$5 AMERICAN EAGLE GOLD COIN
APPROVED: PUBLIC LAW 99-185

We hope that everyone will have a chance to purchase this special U.S. government-issued gold at this price before gold could make its predicted move to higher price levels. Order immediately before our allotted inventory sells out completely! **Call toll-free 1-855-425-3297 today.** If you would have taken $150,000 of your money and bought gold in 2001, then that initial purchase would have been worth over $1 million exactly 10 years later in 2011![†]

This means that specific 10-year period saw an incredible increase of 600% in the price of gold. **Even gold's recent 10-year performance has surpassed major stock indexes.** When you convert money to gold, you have transferred it from a paper currency into a precious metal that can rise in both market and numismatic value. This is how the genius of owning gold may protect your money in today's volatile market.

With predictions of the gold market rising past its record high price and the potential threat of another economic meltdown, now is the time for you and your family to transfer your hard-earned money into physical gold. In our opinion, individuals are currently moving up to 30% of their assets into gold. Join the many Americans who have already converted their dollars to gold and call U.S. Money Reserve today!

U.S. MONEY RESERVE

CALL NOW: 1-855-425-3297

BEGINNING TODAY, TELEPHONE ORDERS WILL BE ACCEPTED ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVED BASIS ACCORDING TO THE TIME AND DATE OF THE ORDER!

Offer valid for up to 30 days
Or while supplies last

MASTERCARD • VISA • AMEX • DISCOVER • CHECK • BANK WIRE

BBB A+

©2017 U.S. Money Reserve. †Based on the change in gold's price from September 6, 2001 ($272/oz.) to September 6, 2011 ($1,923.70/oz.). *The markets for coins are unregulated. Prices can rise or fall and carry some risks. **The company is not affiliated with the U.S. Government and the U.S. Mint.** Past performance of the coin or the market cannot predict future performance. Prices may be more or less based on current market conditions. Special offer is strictly limited to only one lifetime purchase of 10 below- or at-cost coins (regardless of price paid) per household, plus shipping and insurance ($15-$35). Price not valid for precious metals dealers. All calls recorded for quality assurance. 1/10-oz. coins enlarged to show detail. Offer void where prohibited. Offer valid for up to 30 days or while supplies last. Coin dates our choice.

VAULT CODE: TIM20

Time Off

'IT'S BORDERLINE NONSENSICAL. BUT IT'S ALSO VINTAGE WEIRD BECK, REARING HIS HEAD FOR OUR WEIRD TIMES.' —PAGE 107

Groff plays an FBI agent trying to understand his enemies as much as catch them

PATRICK HARBRON—NETFLIX

TELEVISION

With *Mindhunter,* Fincher perfects the art of darkness

By Daniel D'Addario

"YOU KEEP LOOKING AT ME LIKE A specimen," the massive man tells his visitor with a note of displeasure. Edmund Kemper (Cameron Britton), a gently spoken but imposing figure, may have wisdom to impart, but he's nobody's lab experiment. His is a vivid, racing mind. And his visitor (Jonathan Groff) is there to find out how exactly that mind conceived of and carried out a killing spree.

In Netflix's superior new drama *Mindhunter,* human minds are the staging ground for inhuman acts. Groff plays Holden Ford, a 29-year-old FBI agent with ambitions far beyond his station. Ford's interest in criminals has less to do with bringing them to justice than with understanding why they do what they do and how their patterns might be spotted elsewhere. That's what brings him to Kemper, a killer who gave himself up because, as he says, he "despaired of never being caught." He was simply too good at getting away with murder.

It's 1979, and the FBI is operating at cross-purposes. The agency is at once reckoning with the legacy of its late chief J. Edgar Hoover and trying to find its way in a world that seems defined by new evils. Murder sprees by Charles Manson's California "family" and David Berkowitz, New York City's Son of Sam, haven't just captured the public's imagination. They seem illustrative, within the FBI, of a sort of malignant evil that can only be fought be redoubling commitments to old methods. It's one thing when Ford teaches future hostage negotiators to make perpetrators "feel heard"—

that's just strategy, albeit an edgy one. But when he confronts his colleagues about their reading of Manson as a figure from a morality play—"That's a little bit Old Testament, don't you think? Good, evil, black, white . . ."—they revolt.

This tension, even more so than its subject matter, is what makes *Mindhunter* feel perfectly timed. Crime drama can, at its worst, revel in the grossest sort of spectatorship. Shows like CBS's *Criminal Minds,* or ones that trade on the names of real-life murderers, can all too easily slip into gratuitousness for its own sake. (That program's star, Mandy Patinkin, quit after two seasons over its content.) But at its best, the genre tries to understand the roots of crime by investigating some of humanity's most vexing paradoxes. *Mindhunter,* curious and thoughtful, is an example of the latter.

Based on the fascinating memoir of FBI profiler John Douglas, *Mindhunter* carries you through one naïf's journey into darkness. Ford, like any ambitious young thing, is bolder than he is wise. That mix of traits serves him well as he travels across the U.S. researching criminal minds. Groff, who played a lovelorn game designer lost in the sprawling San Francisco gay scene on HBO's *Looking,* brings to this show the same questing spirit. He's aided by the direction of David Fincher, whose ornately nasty visual style gave the early seasons of *House of Cards* their poisoned-truffle savor.

House of Cards is defined, though, by its haute allure—its characters stride the corridors of power and do so in made-to-measure suits. *Mindhunter* is baggier and more appealing. Ford and his partner Bill Tench (Holt McCallany) exist in a state of disempowerment. One wittily shot sequence cuts between all the bits of sustenance and transport they rely on as they traverse the country seeking killers to interview, from diner coffee to Alka-Seltzer to Trans World Airlines flights.

Like any institution, the FBI has its own inertia: "Psychology is for backroom boys," Ford is told by a higher-up. "It's frowned upon." His fighting back against this diktat helps make the character more than just a passive interrogator. He's a hero we can root for, both to override his superiors and see his mission through. No one would call Kemper, the man Ford interviews about his crimes early on, a sympathetic figure: he targeted female hitchhikers. But Ford listens to him with real engagement. When Kemper suggests he be lobotomized—perhaps not such a bad thing—Ford reacts with horror. He'd lose a hugely valuable resource.

If all TV cops were this curious about the world around them, there'd be no such thing as a crime procedural. After all, what makes *Law & Order* so repeatable is the fact that the procedure doesn't change. Cops and criminals all have a part to play. *Mindhunter* is engaged with the process of law enforcement, but a procedural it isn't. Instead, it examines how crime is fought to ask what it is we really want cops to do for us. This is no bleeding-heart show—it's on the side of law enforcement and incarceration. But *Mindhunter*'s underlying belief, that the enemy ought to be respected and known, feels almost radical.

MINDHUNTER *is streaming on Netflix now*

TREND-SETTER
Fincher started the streaming boom in 2013 as producer and director of *House of Cards. Mindhunter* is his second show for Netflix.

FINCHER: MARIUS BUGGE; MINDHUNTER: MERRICK MORTON—NETFLIX; SEVEN: PETER SOREL—NEW LINE/KOBAL/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; ZODIAC: MERRICK MORTON—PARAMOUNT/WARNER BROS./KOBAL/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

Q&A

The true purpose of true crime

By Eliana Dockterman

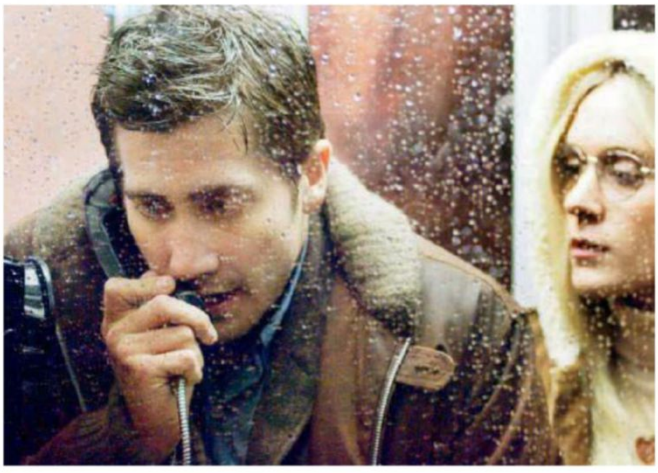
David Fincher, 55, has made a career of delving into abnormal minds, with Seven, Fight Club, Zodiac, The Girl With the Dragon Tattoo *and* Gone Girl. *But he says his newest project,* Mindhunter, *on Netflix, is something else. He discussed the show's genesis and the true-crime boom with TIME.*

TIME: Why this show?
Fincher: I was fascinated by the notion that at some point, [J. Edgar] Hoover's creation—this monolithic, bureaucratic organization—had to say, "There are things going on that we just can't properly articulate and don't understand. How do we protect the innocent until we look at how it all works?" And even if it started in the basement, even if it started in a way as the kind of voodoo department, they did it.

I also thought it was intriguing that, in order to truly understand one's enemy, one had to develop even for short periods of time—even if they were faking it—empathy for people who heretofore would have been beneath our contempt. They had to figure out how to have human conversations with those who are subhuman.

The show sets up a shift from explainable crimes motivated by jealousy or greed to seemingly senseless violence. Do you think that shift actually took place, or did the FBI just start paying more attention to the senseless crimes?
I think serial murder and psychosexual sadism have existed for forever. In Eastern Europe the mythology of the vampire or the werewolf is probably a by-product of this kind of behavior. A mutilated body found in the forest had to be attributed to something. We've allowed it to become the mythology of horror, but that activity probably had more to do with sadism than it does with lycanthropy.

How closely does the show adhere to real life?
A lot of the interviews with serial killers were taken verbatim. The Kemper interviews, the



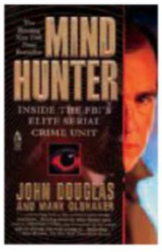
A HISTORY OF DANGEROUS MINDS *Clockwise from top left: Murderer Ed Kemper (Cameron Britton) intimidates an FBI agent (Jonathan Groff) in* Mindhunter; *Brad Pitt and Morgan Freeman investigate biblical murders in* Seven; *Chloë Sevigny lobbies Jake Gyllenhaal not to hunt a serial killer in* Zodiac

Manson interviews—that stuff is pretty well documented. We stayed as close to that as we could while still having a dramatic arc. I don't think we attribute anything to Kemper that he didn't say. I mean, he may not have used the word *oeuvre.*

What do you make of the true-crime boom, from podcasts to TV?
I think there are a lot of people who see themselves as detectives. Certainly, when you see things like *The Keepers* or listen to *Serial,* you can see that some people just get their righteous indignation stoked. Some people are always fascinated by puzzles and the political obfuscation of solutions, because ultimately investigations do bear the weight of political ramifications.

Why do people seem more intrigued by these subjects now?
In the information age there's more to excavate. There's more access to what Marcia Clark is really thinking or what the Menendez brothers did the day after. We're very quick to judge. That should be looked at as a human failing. But I think at its best, people's interest in true crime is people's interest in trying to understand why we behave the way that we do.

Is that the purpose of this show?
I think so. I said many times in the process of making this, "Wait a minute, we're making this show about serial killers. We're not making this show *for* serial killers." Everyone wants to be as detail-oriented as possible, but at a certain point you have to ask yourself, "There is a prurient nature to this. Are we feeding that? Do we want to know more about humanity or do we want to know about inhumanity?" That's always a hard question. Unfortunately, ultimately, it comes down to taste.

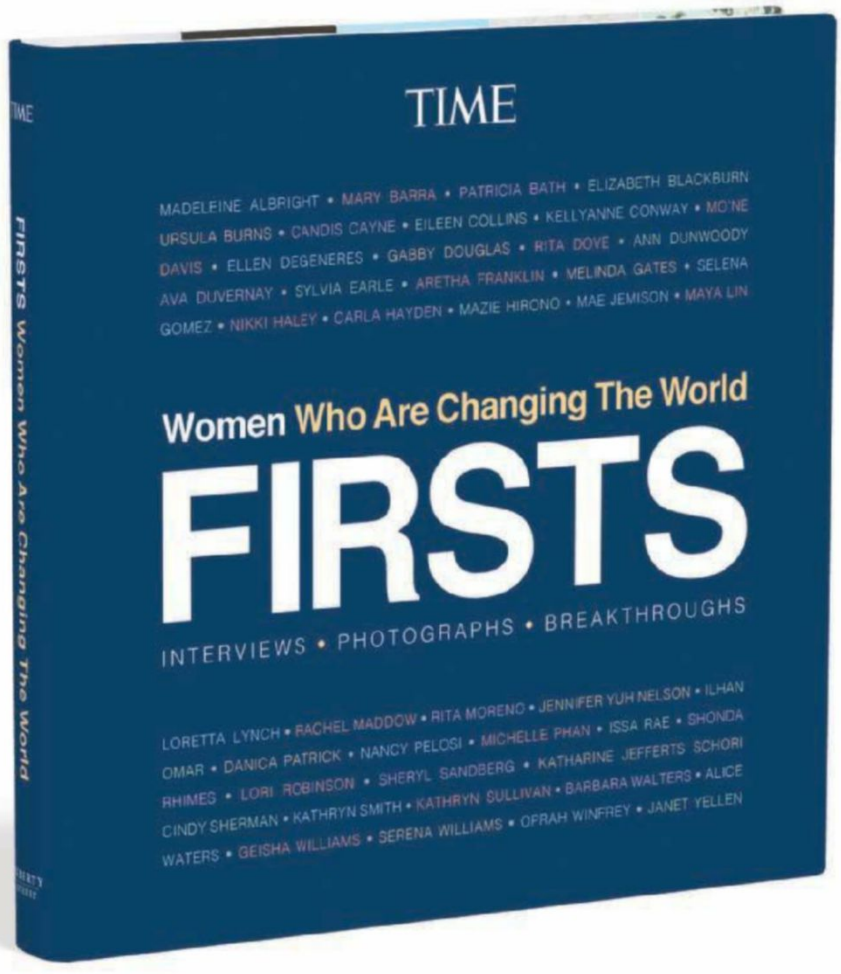


MAN BEHIND THE MYSTERIES
The series is based on the life and work of FBI agent John Douglas, who literally wrote the book on criminal psychology, also titled *Mindhunter.*

You've previously chafed at the notion that you are the "serial-killer director." Did you worry that doing this show would bolster that image?
I took on this project in spite of that, because this show is not about serial killers. This show is about FBI agents and how they were able—through the application of empathy—to understand those people who were so difficult to understand. That was what was intriguing to me. I don't need another serial-killer title on my résumé. This was not about that. It's like in *Zodiac*—you never know who this person is. And in this show, he's right there and he might talk to you. ◻

“My mom always used to say, ‘*Inspire a generation.*’”

—Gabby Douglas, *Olympic champion gymnast*



Inspiring interviews with and photographs of groundbreaking women

The companion book to the extraordinary TIME.com project includes profiles of more than 40 women who have challenged convention and are setting a new course for the world.

AVAILABLE WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD AND FROM TIME.SHOP.COM

To explore the full series, visit TIME.com/Firsts

LIBERTY STREET

© 2017 Time Inc. Books. TIME is a registered trademark of Time Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries

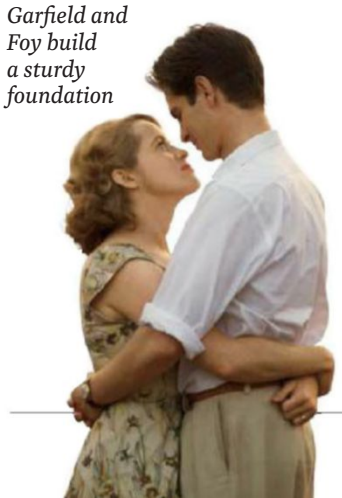
MOVIES

Love takes bravery too

BREATHE, THE DIRECTORIAL debut from actor Andy Serkis *(War for the Planet of the Apes)*, may look like one of those fortifying triumph-over-adversity movies that you think you can skip. Not so fast: it's really the kind of quiet, handsome romantic drama that everyone has forgotten how to make—or is afraid of trying to make. It's also based on a true story. Andrew Garfield plays Robin Cavendish, a tea broker in 1950s England who's stricken with polio at age 28. Paralyzed from the neck down, he's unable to breathe without a ventilator. Yet Robin and his young wife Diana (Claire Foy), who's pregnant when her husband falls ill, build a life together despite astonishing limitations.

Cavendish would become a lifelong advocate for the disabled, and the film's tone is at times overly reverential. But the actors carry the story ably. When Garfield's bedridden Robin sees his infant son for the first time, his smile is the kind that's half made up of invisible tears. Sometimes happiness is so keen, it's painful.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



Garfield and Foy build a sturdy foundation

BREATHE: BLEECKER STREET/PARTICIPANT MEDIA; WONDER WOMEN: CLAIRE FOLGER—ANNAPURNA PICTURES

When Wonder Woman was truly a wonder: Heathcote tries on the persona for size

MOVIES

The women behind Wonder Woman

LONG BEFORE WONDER WOMAN WAS a big cardboard multiplex cutout, she was a comic-book dazzler whose heroic encounters involved bondage, homosexuality and other ostensibly aberrant behaviors. *Professor Marston and the Wonder Women* is Angela Robinson's fascinating and admirably adult true-life drama about the creation of the feisty Amazon we think we know so well. Luke Evans plays William Moulton Marston, a curious, energetic professor of psychology at Radcliffe in the 1920s. His wife and fellow academic Elizabeth (Rebecca Hall) is probably even smarter. Both fall in love with a bright young student, Olive Byrne (Bella Heathcote), an adventure that destroys their academic careers.

Yet the triangular relationship endures and deepens over the years, and by the 1940s Marston's unorthodox thinking about life, love and sex sparks an idea: if women are men's superiors, as he believes, why not create a comic-book character who embodies that dynamic? His ideas about sexual submission and dominance also find their way into the mix, which raises the hackles of the white-bread morality police.

Robinson, whose credits include *The L Word* and *True Blood,* approaches the story in such a low-key, unsensational way that the trio's beyond-bohemian arrangement is barely eyebrow-raising. What *is* eyebrow-raising is the movie's assessment of how Marston's original Wonder Woman—vital, brainy and a little kinky—became flattened into the safe, asexual role model we know today. As enjoyable as Patty Jenkins' *Wonder Woman* film is, today's WW is definitely SFW. Even in 2017, Marston's creation is still too much for us, men and women alike. She was a wonder who needed to be cut down to size, and we're still doing it, whether we realize it or not. —S.Z.

As Milne, Gleeson pays more attention to the bear than the boy (Tilston)

ACTING

Domhnall Gleeson proves (once more) he can do almost anything

By Kate Samuelson

EVERYONE HAS A SOFT SPOT FOR *WINNIE-THE-Pooh*. Everyone, that is, except Domhnall Gleeson, who had never read a *Pooh* book until he was cast as the beloved bear's creator, A.A. Milne, and picked one up for research. "I was happy to find that they were good," he says cheerfully, sipping a soft drink in a plush London hotel in late September. "Some things are inexplicably popular, but *Pooh* is not. You really understand why people love it so much."

Gleeson understands what it's like to be popular, at least with casting directors: *Goodbye Christopher Robin* is only the third of his six films due out this year. The charismatic Dubliner's talent is obvious from the eclectic range of roles he's taken on since breaking out as the affable Bill Weasley in the *Harry Potter* franchise. So far in 2017, he's bossed around Tom Cruise in the crime thriller *American Made* and creeped out Jennifer Lawrence in *mother!* In the forthcoming *Star Wars: The Last Jedi,* he'll battle the Resistance as the ruthless General Hux.

A FAMILY BUSINESS
Gleeson's father Brendan and brother Brian are also actors, and the trio is working on a short film. "But I'm not from some acting dynasty or anything like that," Domhnall maintains.

The copper-haired 34-year-old is clearly unafraid of venturing outside his comfort zone—if he even has one. "As an actor, you should feel like you're wrestling the material, like it's using up your energy and your resources. You should be drained by the process," he says. "I think the key is not to be comfortable."

Comfortable is not how audiences will feel watching Gleeson take on Milne. Far from the child-friendly stroll in the park one might expect of a film about honey-doped Pooh, *Robin* is a dark tale of child neglect and posttraumatic stress disorder. Gleeson stars alongside Margot Robbie, reuniting after their 2013 love story *About Time,* about a far more functional father-son relationship. In *Robin,* Milne's son (Will Tilston) yearns for intimacy with his distant father, a British war hero, who is too busy promoting the characters he created to spend time with the boy who inspired them.

Both Gleeson and Robbie, who is Australian, required vigorous vocal training to affect the plummy English accents of Milne and his wife Daphne. "I would recite poems with my dialogue coach to help practice my voice," he recalls. One was Philip Larkin's "This Be the Verse," which begins, "They f-ck you up, your mum and dad." Quips Gleeson: "I think it was pretty appropriate for the film."

GLEESON'S RELATIONSHIP with his own father hardly mirrors the disconnect between Milne and his son. He is close with Brendan Gleeson, the award-winning actor known for films like *Braveheart* and, alongside his son, *Harry Potter.* When Domhnall was young, he saw how much the profession fulfilled his father, which fueled his desire to become an actor. "I also knew that it was desperately difficult when you were not working," he adds. Domhnall's younger brother Brian is also an actor, and the pair appeared together in *mother!* "That movie was hardcore, difficult and very stressful," he recalls. "My brother and I absolutely went at it." No spoilers, but suffice to say things don't end well between them onscreen.

Gleeson has done a lot for an actor his age. His résumé also includes the sci-fi mystery *Ex Machina,* wintry western *The Revenant* and the epic romance *Anna Karenina.* What, to him, accounts for this early success? Gleeson points to a long-held, irrational belief that he would die prematurely. "I always had this strange sense that I was going to be dead by the time I hit 30 and felt this voracious desire to leave my mark before I went," he says. "The fact I've made it to 34 feels bizarre." Not that survival has driven his desire away. "I've just pushed the benchmark to 40 now." □

GLEESON: DAVID APPLEBY—TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX; HOFFMAN: MATT BARON—REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

METHOD

Dustin Hoffman on playing fathers

By Eliza Berman

Sure, Dustin Hoffman caught his big break 50 years ago seducing a lonely mom in *The Graduate*. But some of the actor's most memorable roles have been as fathers of all varieties: doomed *(Death of a Salesman),* beleaguered *(Kramer vs. Kramer),* overly hug-prone *(Meet the Fockers)*. The two-time Oscar winner's latest onscreen patriarch is Harold Meyerowitz, a megalomaniacal sculptor in Noah Baumbach's *The Meyerowitz Stories (New and Selected)* streaming on Netflix and in theaters now. Hoffman, 80, talked to TIME about getting in—and out of—character and what he's learned about acting from his relationships with his own family.

TOOTSIE ROLES
As a cross-dressing actor in *Tootsie* and a man with autism in *Rain Man,* Hoffman broke the movie-star mold

ON HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS FATHER HARRY

We had the same birthday. When he turned 80, I turned 50. We were at the beach walking along the shore, and I said, "So, Dad, what can you tell me? What kind of wisdom can you impart?" He was very short, 5'2", and he looked up at me and said, "It's all bullsh-t." And he walked away. I've never forgotten it. It was so Willy Loman, because he wanted to leave an inheritance, like Willy. I was so nervous when he came to see that play [*Death of a Salesman*]. I said, "Oh, God, he's going to know what I'm doing." He came backstage, and I said, "What'd you think?" He said, "Boy, that guy's some loser."

ON BEING A DAD

You inherit certain things. My wife, we've been together 40 years, and she knew my parents. There were times when the kids were little and I would get upset, and she would say, "Harry's coming out." And she was right. I don't think there's a way around it. You spend a lifetime—I do anyway—trying to un-wreck yourself. Because you've been wrecked.

ON GETTING INTO CHARACTER

I think it has to be in you. It's autobiographical. You think you're finding it outside, but you tap in to it somehow. For this movie, I enlarged a part of myself that I inherited from my father. I think there's an unwritten law with sons where the father, without stating it, lets you know very early on that you are not to surpass him. As a little kid, you pick up on an amazing amount intuitively. I drew on that.

ON PLAYING A CRIMINAL IN *STRAIGHT TIME* (1978)

You learn in acting school: This guy's a killer. Have you ever killed anyone? No. Almost killed anyone? No. Have you ever been so angry that you could kill someone? Getting closer. There's nothing that makes me more furious than waking up and hearing a mosquito. It's landed on you, and you have to kill it. You turn on the lights and finally get it, and there's a certain amount of blood—your blood—that spatters. That's the part of you that you enlarge.

ON MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

After *The Graduate,* I was kind of first in line of my generation. When I think back, I think, I shouldn't have turned Ingmar Bergman down twice. I shouldn't have turned Spielberg down four times. I have spent many years in therapy finding out why. I tried to jeopardize my success, and in spite of myself, I couldn't succeed. But I'm still sad that I made those mistakes.

ON HIS KIDS AND HIS MOVIES

One thing I tried to do is never encourage my kids to see my work. There were no posters on the wall. Growing up, they made fun of me because I'd say, "Let me put this on, you'll love this." They'd say, "Is it black and white, or color?" I'd say, "Black and white." No! "Is it a documentary about bugs?" I'd say, "Yes, but you'll love it!" They learned not to listen to me. But I don't have a kid who's seen everything I've done. I don't want to belabor them in that way.

ON HIS EARLY AMBITION TO BE A JAZZ PIANIST

I didn't read music easily, and I didn't have anywhere near perfect pitch. We were in the car [today] next to a cement mixer, and I remembered a song I knew as a kid: "cement mixer, put-ti put-ti." The writer was Slim Gaillard. I would give anything to have been able to do that. If God tapped me on the shoulder and said, "You can't do anything more in your profession. In exchange, I'll allow you to be a jazz pianist"—[*snaps fingers*]—like that. Oh, God. ◻

Illustrations on the book's endpapers represent each of Coates' essays

NONFICTION

Ta-Nehisi Coates speaks truth in *Power*

By Claire Howorth

THE SYMBOLISM IN TA-NEHISI COATES' NEW BOOK, *We Were Eight Years in Power,* runs cover to cover, starting with the binding materials. The book's endpapers, that wallpaper glued to the inside cover, are both adhesive and cohesive, serving as a visual table of contents and tone-setting allegory.

The design is toile, the whitest of white-bread decor, a textile steeped in colonialism and cotton. Coates chose illustrator Dan Funderburgh's subversion of the traditional form to complement other historical allusions (including the cover design, which Coates wanted to reference the autobiography of Frederick Douglass). Then there's the word itself—*toile.* An *e* away from "work."

Eight Years is about the work of black people, and the striving and strife they have lived through in America, and is based on eight columns that Coates wrote for the *Atlantic,* one to represent each year of Barack Obama's presidency. "Obama was the realization of generations, a black ambition as old as this country." But what was the price? Coates wonders. The *Atlantic* columns are enriched with personal memoir, and a stocktaking, as Coates takes the reader through his own life and reflects on how the columns relate to the present. Now things seem to be slipping scarily back into the past under Trump, whom Coates has dubbed our "first white President." Obama isn't so much a subject as a lens.

ANOTHER COUNTRY
The book follows Coates' 2015 polemic, *Between the World and Me,* which won the National Book Award

The titular eight years are from a quote by a South Carolina Congressman reflecting on the brief egalitarian respite of Reconstruction, progress that eventually fell victim to racist backlash.

THESE ARE THEMES that Coates has explored throughout his career as a "Black writer," a mantle that he had been hesitant to adopt but that eventually became a calling—one for which readers of all races should be grateful. "The notion that writing about race, which is to say, the force of white supremacy, is marginal and provincial is itself parcel to white supremacy, premised on the notion that the foundational crimes of this country are mostly irrelevant to its existence." The notion that reading about race is similarly marginal seems disastrous too. It is foundational to our national identity. Which is why Coates says Trump's race signaling makes him America's "most dangerous President—and made more dangerous still by the fact that those charged with analyzing him cannot name his essential nature, because they too are implicated in it."

No race or gender is a monolith—just ask the women who voted for Trump—and Coates has detractors, most recently and vociferously Thomas Chatterton Williams, who wrote in the New York *Times* that Coates "fetishizes" race, giving whiteness power. But for those of us who would like not to be complicit in a backward-lurching culture, we can't "privilege the appearance of knowing over the work of finding out," to borrow an eloquent Coatesian turn. I'm ready to do the work. ◻

MUSIC

Beck's *Colors* finds joy in its time

By Mike Ayers

AN ODD THING HAPPENED WHEN BECK'S *Morning Phase* won the Grammy for Album of the Year in 2015: he got Kanye'd. As he was walking up to accept his gramophone trophy from Prince, the outspoken rapper started to follow him onstage, feigning a reprise of his infamous 2009 stage-crashing of Taylor Swift at the MTV Video Music Awards. Beck reacted like you might expect the king of '90s slackerdom to, looking like a shruggy emoticon come to life. No surprise that, unlike Swift, Beck didn't use the moment to fuel his follow-up album, *Colors*.

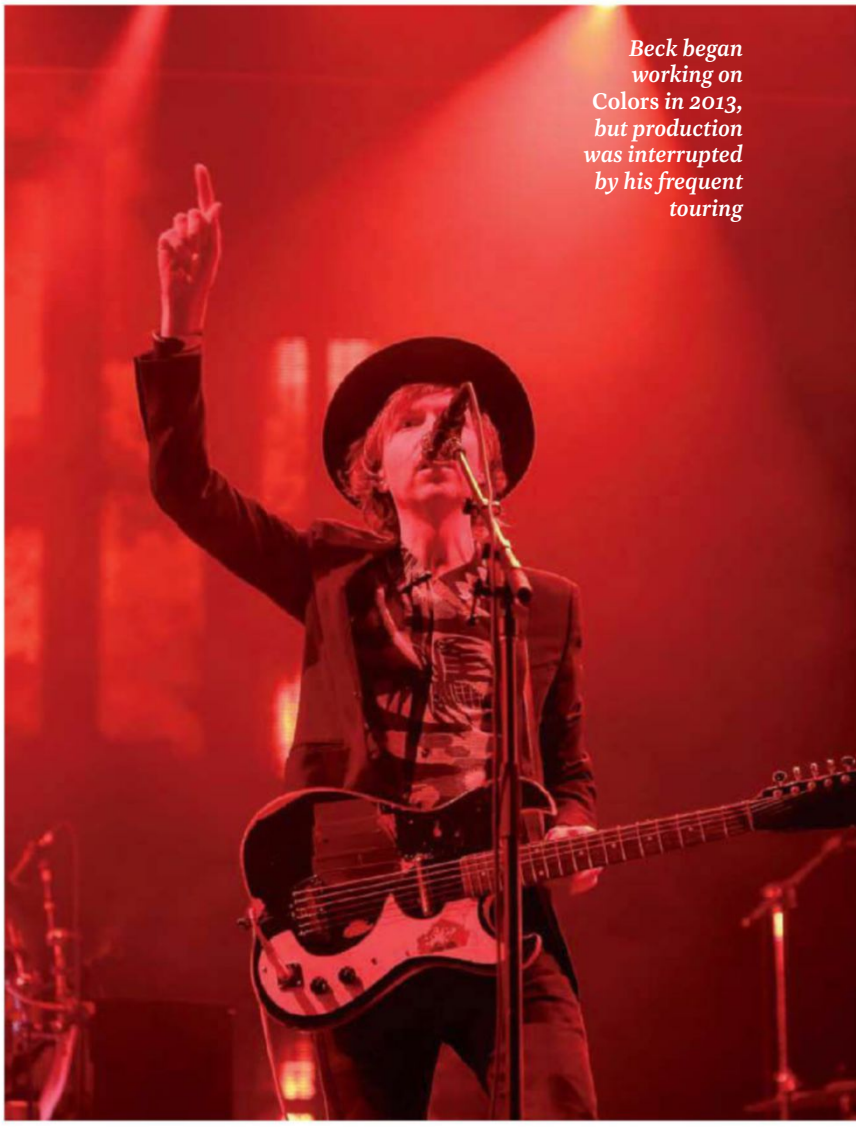
In fact, this new record has been gestating since before *Morning Phase,* when Beck started carving out time with Greg Kurstin, now a mega-producer for pop stars like Adele and Sia. The two have been collaborators for years. (Kurstin was Beck's keyboardist for the 2003 Sea Change tour.) But *Colors* is something more: Beck and Kurstin wrote a majority of the 10 songs together and played pretty much every instrument you hear, except for the strings and some background vocals.

The result is antithetical to the somber arrangements of *Morning Phase*. Beck's acoustic melancholy is replaced with a medley of psychedelic garage pop and funky dance numbers. It's all very joyous. *Colors* feels like a cousin to earlier albums *Midnite Vultures* (1999) and *Guero* (2005). On "No Distraction," Beck laments losing time and love as they "Pull you to the left/ Pull you to the right/ Pull you in all directions," but on the fuzzy guitar number "I'm So Free," he takes the opposite route, declaring, "I'm on a one-man waiting list/ I'm bored again/ I buried all my memories/ I'm so free now." On "Dreams" and "Seventh Heaven," he fully embraces surrealism, a longtime comfort zone. "Up All Night" is a crowd-pleasing party anthem.

IF THERE'S A STANDOUT SONG, it's the album's second single, "Wow," released in June 2016. At first listen, it's utterly ridiculous. Beck begins by exclaiming "Giddy up" four times, before moving into a slow, oozy funk beat over which he repeatedly croons, "It's like wow/ It's like right now." There's a line about living your best life. And one about living each day like it's your last. And another about living each day like you're on your front lawn doing jiujitsu while a "girl in a bikini with a Lamborghini shih tzu" is nearby. It's borderline nonsensical. But it's also vintage weird Beck, rearing his head for our weird times.

Which is really what *Colors* should be. Beck's best albums have never really been about the micro-eras they were made in. (He's not the type to pontificate.) But they were thoroughly shaped by them and, in retrospect, manage to capture some of their essence, like a time capsule for vibes. *Midnite Vultures* was a fun-house mirror of the gonzo excess of the late '90s; *Guero* an expression of renewed vigor in the mid-2000s. We'll have to wait and see whether *Colors,* down the line, will tell us what it was like to live through this reality-television presidency and all its various anxieties.

For now, it's just a lot of fun. *Colors* shows that Beck is still the type of artist who can spend years carefully crafting songs and have them feel rather timeless right away—even in a time of joyless news cycles. In any case, if you escape into Beck's kaleidoscope for 40 minutes, you too may believe that life can be "like wow." ◻



Beck began working on Colors *in 2013, but production was interrupted by his frequent touring*

LONG ROAD
Colors, on which Beck collaborated with superproducer Greg Kurstin, is the 47-year-old's 13th studio album.

EIGHT YEARS: DAN FUNDERBURGH; BECK: JACKIE BUTLER—GETTY IMAGES

Did You Have an Unauthorized Wells Fargo Account Anytime Since May 2002?

You could get a payment from a $142 Million Wells Fargo Class Action Settlement

The Settlement includes customers who had certain unauthorized Wells Fargo credit, checking, or savings accounts, or authorized identity theft protection service, since May 2002.

Go to **www.WFSettlement.com** to learn more about how you could be included.

Cash benefits include:

- A payment to compensate you for fees you may have paid in connection with unauthorized accounts.
- Cash to compensate you for damages caused by harm to your credit.
- Plus, any money remaining in the fund, after paying the benefits above and all costs and expenses, will be paid out as additional compensation on a per-account basis.

How It Works

Visit **www.WFSettlement.com** to fill out the simple claim form in a few minutes.

Your claim will be examined.

If eligible, you'll receive a check in the mail.

Your Rights, Next Steps, & Important Dates

You may object or exclude yourself from the Settlement by **December 5, 2017**.

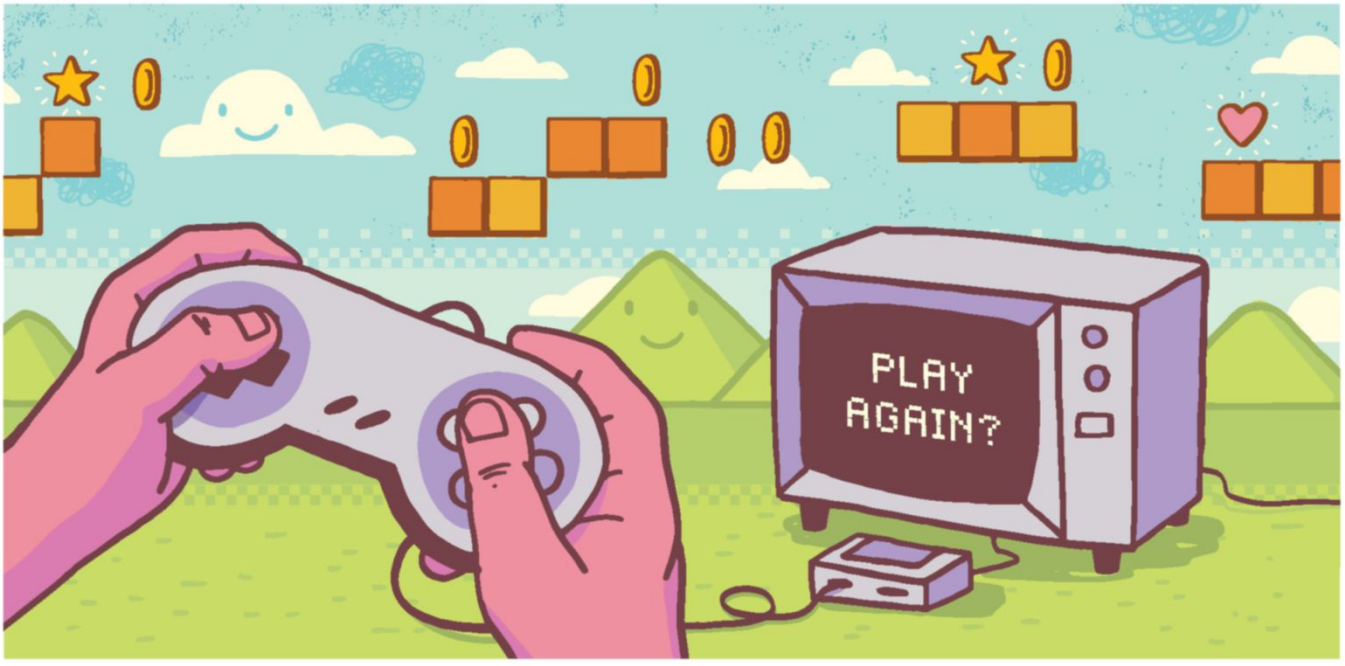
You must submit a valid claim before **February 3, 2018**.

The Court will hold a hearing on **January 4, 2018**, to determine whether to approve the Settlement. This hearing date may change, so check **www.WFSettlement.com** for updates.

If you are an eligible Class Member and stay in the Settlement, you will be eligible for a cash payment and cannot sue Wells Fargo.

Attorneys representing the Class will request Court approval for attorneys' fees up to 15% of the Settlement Fund, plus costs.

Visit **www.WFSettlement.com** for more details on the Settlement, to fill out a claim form, and to review your rights and options. You may hire an attorney at your own cost to represent you.



TREND

The new Zen of playing old video games

By Matt Peckham

ON SEPT. 29, A NEW TICKLE ME ELMO ARRIVED IN ONLINE stores—and then quickly vanished. That same day, Nintendo's new Super NES Classic, a Lilliputian version of the '90s-era game console compatible with today's television sets, sold out in minutes. The wee machine proved popular partly because it comes with some 20 classic games built in, including a never-released version of cult favorite *Star Fox*. But mostly it went so fast because retro game boxes are like fidget spinners for nostalgic grownups.

The $79 Super NES Classic isn't the first throwback game device by far. A line of plug-and-play set-tops crammed with Atari's iconic games has been around since the early 2000s. And so-called virtual consoles have allowed players to download halcyon hits to modern Nintendo, Sony and Microsoft platforms through software emulation for years. But it took last year's impossible-to-find, heavily scalped $59 NES Classic—a mini Nintendo Entertainment System with 30 built-in games, including the first *Super Mario* and *Legend of Zelda*—to jolt the category. There's more to come: Atari announced what it calls an Ataribox, a new console styled after its 1977 Atari 2600 that is designed to run both old and new games. A pint-sized C64 Mini laden with classic Commodore 64 games will go on sale for $69 early next year. At this rate, a miniature Apple II and TRS-80 seem inevitable.

Part of retro gaming's allure stems from a preservationist impulse, like remastering classic music albums or releasing "definitive" editions of beloved films. Vintage video games have it rough by comparison, though. Lo-fi graphics optimized for old-school TVs look garish on today's ultra-high-definition screens. Retro consoles ease that translation with modern perks like HDMI support.

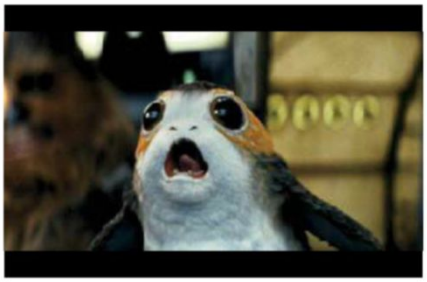
More interesting is why you might want to play a classic game at all, especially if you don't harbor fond memories from their particular era. Sure, Nintendo mainstays like *Super Mario World* and *The Legend of Zelda: A Link to the Past* may look crudely basic at first glance. But playing one in 2017 is a reminder of not only how much they got right about game design but also how much they influenced contemporary titles. The experience is not unlike re-engaging a superlative jazz solo or a half-century-old abstract painting.

Whether you view a system like the Super NES Classic as a portable library of bygone times or just a reminder of how tortuously difficult some of those games were, its popularity makes one thing certain: the game with the longest odds, at this point, is finding one. ◻

TAKE ME BACK
Nintendo's retro console, the $79 Super NES Classic, isn't the first of its kind. But it may be the most popular yet, selling out in minutes on Sept. 29.

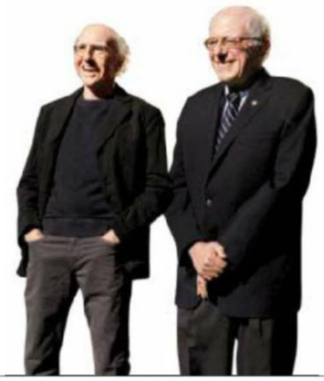
SNES CLASSIC: NINTENDO; ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL KORFHAGE FOR TIME

Bandai America is launching a smaller version of its iconic Tamagotchi toy to mark the 20th anniversary of the digital pocket pet's release.



The new trailer for *The Last Jedi* **gave *Star Wars* enthusiasts a first glimpse at a Porg**—an adorable puffin-like creature that's already rivaling BB-8 in the cuteness department.

***Harry Potter* fans can now purchase the 14th century cottage** that was used as his Godric's Hollow childhood home in the first *Deathly Hallows* movie.



Larry David and Bernie Sanders find out they are distant cousins in the season premiere of PBS's *Finding Your Roots*—a discovery that was preceded by David's playing Sanders in multiple episodes of *Saturday Night Live.*

A woman dressed as the Monopoly man showed up at the Senate Banking Committee hearing on the Equifax data breach to protest the credit-rating agency's use of forced arbitration.

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

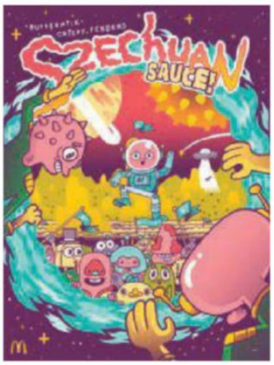
TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

Christian Louboutin is launching **a baby line of his famous red-soled shoes that will retail for $250.**

'A little uncomfortable.'

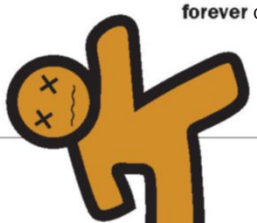
DAVE GROHL, Foo Fighters front man, on the band's experience filming Carpool Karaoke, adding that James Corden is a "very nice guy"

McDonald's attempt to bring back its 1998 Szechuan sauce in "super-limited" supply after it was featured on an episode of *Rick and Morty* **backfired when the majority of customers left empty-handed.**



Five people at a Baltimore high school were hospitalized after a strange odor coming from **a pumpkin spice air freshener prompted a hazmat scare and evacuation.**

AOL announced that its once massively popular **instant-messaging service, AIM, will shut down forever** on Dec. 15.



By Megan McCluskey

TAMAGOTCHI: JAMIE WISEMAN—DAILY MAIL/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; PORG: INDUSTRIAL LIGHT & MAGIC/LUCASFILM; HARRY POTTER: CARTER JONAS; SANDERS & DAVID; MONOPOLY; GROHL; PUMPKIN: GETTY IMAGES; SZECHUAN; MCDONALD'S; SHOE: CHRISTIAN LOUBOUTIN/GOOP

Safe gun policy doesn't have to mean no guns—or no safety

By Kristin van Ogtrop

ON A RECENT WEEKEND I WAS DOING SOME FALL CLEANING when I uncovered my old T-shirt from the Million Mom March, which took place on Mother's Day in 2000. I held up that shirt, with its pink and black logo, and remembered walking on the National Mall with my 5-year-old son on my shoulders, full of hope that a group of like-minded mothers and others could make some sense out of what felt like chaos with respect to guns. I believed that guns were bad, full stop. Why couldn't everyone see that?

I am older now and in many ways more moderate, including my attitude toward gun ownership. Maybe my views began to soften when I visited my sister and her new husband and found a shotgun under the guest-room bed. Who, I wondered, keeps a shotgun under the bed?! Well, when you are a man like my brother-in-law, who is a lifelong hunter, a shotgun safely stored under the bed is no big deal. Guns are such an integral part of his life that when he walks the dog through the fields near their house, he takes his shotgun in case he spots a rabbit that might make a good stew. To my brother-in-law, a gun is a useful tool, just like his chain saw and rototiller and washing machine.

Further softening: I had never held a gun in my hands until my two older sons and I went clay-pigeon shooting on vacation this past summer. Perhaps the younger me would have taken a stand against clay-pigeon shooting—guns were bad! But the older me thought it sounded like fun, as long as we all wore protective glasses and noise-canceling headphones. As it turned out, clay-pigeon shooting was both a) lots of fun and b) something I can add to my very short list of talents.

OVER THE YEARS, as my attitude softened, came horrifying gun tragedies that claimed dozens of lives at the hands of a small group of evil men. Tragedies we talk about using a sad shorthand: Virginia Tech. Aurora. Sandy Hook. Pulse. And now, Las Vegas. Maybe the city of Las Vegas looms so large in our cultural imagination that the massacre there won't ever have a shorthand name. I'm not sure if that's good or bad. But what's very bad indeed is how, instead of feeling compelled to march as I did in 2000, I now just feel a sense of … inevitability. With each new mass shooting, that feeling of futility gains ground. As my best friend said, "If Sandy Hook couldn't change anything, nothing will."

When you are a moderate person, one of your defining characteristics—if significant shortcomings—is that you expect people around you to be moderate too. Which may be why the strongest emotion I have felt since Oct. 1 is one of disbelief that the spokesperson for our country's leader said now is not the time to talk policy but "to unite as a country." Is anyone else tired of the suggestion that when disaster (whether natural or man-made) strikes, it just makes Americans stronger and more united? I'm not sure which United States our President is living in, but whichever one it is, I think I'm living in the other one. Given that addressing gun violence is one of the most politically divisive issues today, we need guidance on how to unite. Because frankly, if we knew how to do that, our population might be bigger by exactly 58.

I WALKED in the Million Mom March 17 years ago because I wanted to show my son that ordinary citizens have power, that together we can raise our voices and make this country better. I'm sad to say that I am having a hard time maintaining that belief. I also marched because I want my children, and all children, to be safe. As one of those nagging mothers who doesn't care about embarrassing her kids in order to give them information that will keep them healthy, from time to time I text my older boys news articles like the one I sent last week about STDs being on the rise. Never mind that my boys don't like discussing STDs with their mother—if I didn't annoy them with information about how they can stay safe, how would they know I love them?

But when it comes to warning them about guns, I'm flummoxed. And so, to the politicians who are urging us to focus not on policy but on uniting: after you tell us how to do that, maybe you can help me keep kids alive. I've got a running list of places children should avoid so they don't get shot: nightclubs, movie theaters, churches, college campuses, elementary schools and outdoor concerts. Anything I missed?

Van Ogtrop is the author of Just Let Me Lie Down: Necessary Terms for the Half-Insane Working Mom

ILLUSTRATION BY TOMI UM FOR TIME

Ai Weiwei The Chinese artist and activist is taking on migration issues and the rise of nationalism with a documentary and his biggest public art project to date

Your exhibition in New York City is called "Good Fences Make Good Neighbors." What's it about? Before the Berlin Wall collapsed, about 11 nations had border [walls] and fences. Now it's jumped to 70, so you have seen the tendency to exclude and to defend. New York is a city that is made of immigrants. This is not a normal kind of public art; it uses the city as a ready-made and develops projects through the city's boroughs, especially the immigrant areas, using bus shelters and subway stops.

Some people support President Trump's wall because they're worried about being overwhelmed by people from other countries. What would you say to them? There's a lot of talk about the potential danger. It's saying, "We are better than them. They are the danger. They are the problem." It's trying not to recognize humanity as one. It's against the ideology that we're all created equal, and it's a violation of our understanding of human rights and human dignity, and it's just such a backward movement.

How do you walk the line between making art that connects as art, and art that connects as a political statement? First, I'm an artist. Absolutely, my art is with me in all my activities. My defense of human rights or freedom of speech is really related to the very essential core of the art practice.

There's a discussion going on about Confederate statues in the U.S. Do you think they should be removed? I support the freedom of speech. I think that is what we have to defend, and even though those statues may not be pleasant, they still reflect where we come from. If you see what happens in China, the party constantly changes reality and history to its own favor, which really establishes a totally tyrannical control.

You lived in the U.S. for a little while as an art student in the '80s. Were you in the country legally? Nobody ever asked me that question. I came to the U.S. as a student. But I dropped out of school and so I became an illegal alien in New York City for years. Nobody ever checked—not even when I brought a lot of trouble to the police, when we had the [Tompkins Square Park] riots.

Why did you pull back on social media? I grew up in a society in which no individual voice can be heard, whether you are a President or company leader or poet. So when social media provided me such a possibility, I got absolutely lost in it. I was kind of completely wild, and I spent, like, 24 hours a day [with it]. It was just never enough. After so much argument about those very essential values, I lost my voice. It's just like a singer lost his voice because I repeatedly talked about those big issues. And then one day I had a chance to develop artworks.

You paid a price for your father's work as a poet when he was exiled. How do you feel about your son in that context? I was born while my father was being purged, and I grew up in this exiled condition; he cleaned public toilets in a very remote area. And then for 30 years, he was forbidden to write anything. But he is today the most patriotic poet, loves his nation, his people and the fight for the independence of the nation. At the time I was arrested, my son was only 2½. When I went into detention, the only thing I felt sorry about is I thought I was going to be sentenced to over 10 years. So my son's condition really made me become much softer. I have to protect his safety, have to send him to Germany to a safe ground and also I have to take this exile path with him.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

> 'It's a violation of our understanding of human rights and human dignity, and it's just such a backward movement.'

VENTURELLI—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

Life gets plain if you don't add flavor.

Life's tasty. Crunch on.